













# ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

AND

## ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD

(FOUNDED JANUARY, 1886.)

THIRD SERIES.

JULY, 1904.

VOL. XVIII, No.

### Contents.

#### ASIA.

BARON K. SUYEMATSU: "RUSSIA AND JAPAN."

CAPTAIN G. E. BRUCE: "OUR RELATIONS WITH TIBET."

FRANK BIRDWOOD: "THE EMPIRE'S GREATEST COMMERCIAL ASSET."

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.: "THE ENHANCED DUTIES ON TEA AND TOBACCO."

#### ORIENTALIA.

PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D.: "THE CYRUS VASE INSCRIPTIONS OF EZRA AND ISAIAH."

#### GENERAL.

FRANCIS H. SKRINE, I.C.S. (Retired): "THE BENARES MASSACRE OF 1782: A STUDY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POLITICS."

C. TIRUMALAYYA NAIDU, M.R.A.S.: "IS HINDU MUSIC SCIENTIFIC?"

A. FRANCIS STEUART: "THE ENGLISH IN THE PHILIPPINES." \*

E. H. PARKER: "THE ATTEMPT MADE BY KUBLAI KHAN TO CONQUER JAPAN."

#### PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

#### CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS:

SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.—ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN CEYLON.—THE FUTURE OF INDIA.

#### REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

The Punjab in Peace and War.—The Khedive's Country.—The Wonderful Story of Uganda.—Greater America. Manchuria and Corea.—The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie.—The Middle Eastern Question.—China from Within, etc.

#### SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE COLONIES.

PUBLISHERS: ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, WOKING.

(Number of pages, 224.)

[All Rights reserved.]



THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review*,  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

JULY, 1904.

RUSSIA AND JAPAN.

BY BARON SUYEMATSU.

IN the following pages an effort has been made to trace the course of events and negotiations precedent to the outbreak of hostilities in the Far East. The most trustworthy sources of information have been drawn upon, viz., the White Book issued by the British Government, entitled "Correspondence regarding the Russian Occupation of Manchuria and Newchwang" [China, No. 2, 1904], and a White Book concerning "The Negotiations between Japan and Russia, 1903-1904," presented by the Government of Tokio to the Imperial Diet this year. These official records have been supplemented, wherever it has been requisite to do so, by references to acknowledged facts in the recent history of the Extreme East, and if the account now given is somewhat lengthy, though compressed as much as possible, the circumstance is to be ascribed to the wide area which, geographically and historically, it was needful that the statement should be made to embrace.

The anxiety felt in Japan about Russian methods had its origin at least as far back as the eighteenth century, when the encroachments of Russian settlers began in the Kurile Islands, which are Japanese territory, and extend in a prolonged chain from Yezo (now officially termed

Hokkaido) to Cape Lopatka. There were frequent intrusions by Russians early in the last century, moreover, upon Yezo and the neighbouring islands, and Russia seized the opportunity, when the opening of the Empire to foreign intercourse had caused internal dissensions in Japan itself, to take possession of the northern half of Saghalien, an island which up to that time had been regarded as wholly Japanese property. In the end, at a later date she succeeded in depriving Japan of the southern half also, and thus acquired for herself possession of the entire island. In 1861 the Russians attempted the annexation of Tsushima, Japan's outpost in the Straits of Korea, having landed men surreptitiously from the cruiser *Posadnik* and quartered them ashore. This design was, however, frustrated by the vigilance of the British Admiral, Sir James Hope, who, on learning of the Russian descent upon the island, took such strenuous action as left the intruders no option but to retire from the position which they had illegally taken up. The opportunity presented by China's difficulties with France and Great Britain over events in North China had at this time been seized by Russia to exact from the Peking Government the cession of the entire Eastern littoral of Manchuria down to the Korean frontier, with its bays and harbours, including the site of Vladivostock. In 1885 the Russians attempted to snatch Port Lazareff from Korea, and although that attempt was thwarted by the prompt action of England, Russia's ambitions in respect of her progress southward never ceased to be active. Thus in 1891 she began that gigantic undertaking, the Trans-Siberian Railway, and immediately on the conclusion of the Sinico-Japanese War she wrested from China, by successive machinations, concessions and subordinate privileges in connection with the so-called Eastern Chinese Railway, which spread itself not only across the whole width of Manchuria to Vladivostock, but likewise through its entire length from Harbin to Port Arthur and Dalny. By degrees the Russian interest was

made to predominate, and to all intents and purposes the railways in Manchuria were to become part and parcel of Russia's own railway system, administered by her officials.

Korea, which had for centuries virtually acknowledged the suzerainty of Japan as well as of China, by periodically despatching a tribute-bearing mission to the Japanese capital in the same way that she had sent envoys from Seoul to Peking, began to omit this courtesy, and mistrusting the effects of the radical changes introduced into Japan under the new *régime*, chose to exhibit in other ways an indifference to the preservation of good relations with the Japanese Empire. The successive Envoys whom Japan sent to Korea were arrogantly treated, and finally, in 1875, a Japanese surveying vessel, the *Unyokan*, was fired upon. Japan demanded explanations, and eventually a treaty was signed between Japan and Korea in 1876, in which Korea was placed on the footing of an independent State, and certain of her ports were opened to Japanese commerce. Owing to the continued interference, however, of the Chinese in Korean politics, and conflicts having occurred between the soldiers guarding the Japanese Legation and the Koreans, China was remonstrated with, and finally a treaty was negotiated at Tientsin in 1884, whereby a pacific settlement was brought about for the time being. In effect, it was China's breaches of this treaty that led to the subsequent Sinico-Japanese War. China's unwillingness, however, to relinquish the hold upon the peninsular kingdom which she claimed to enjoy by virtue of suzerainty, and her antagonism to Japan's growing influence at Seoul, exerted solely in the interests of beneficial reform, culminated in her taking those hostile measures that brought about the war of 1894-1895.

In the negotiations for peace which were entered upon at Shimonoseki in the spring of 1895, China ceded the Liao-tung peninsula to Japan. Russia, however, had long before fixed her gaze upon the fortress of Port Arthur, and with the view of preventing its transfer, together with the



territory named, to Japan, she thought fit to address to the Government of Tokio the following remonstrance, with the consent and approval of France and Germany.:

“The Government of His Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, in examining the conditions of peace which Japan has imposed on China, finds that the possession of the peninsula of Liao-tung, claimed by Japan, would be a constant menace to the capital of China, would at the same time render illusory the independence of Korea, and would henceforth be a perpetual obstacle to the permanent peace of the Far East. Consequently, the Government of His Majesty the Emperor would give a new proof of their sincere friendship for the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of Japan by advising them to renounce the definitive possession of the peninsula of Liao-tung.”

Japan, as is well known, was obliged to yield to the pressure thus exerted by the three Western Powers, and when, in 1897, Germany obtained from China a lease of Kiao-Chau in Shantung, Russia seized the moment to demand from the Peking Government the virtual cession of Port Arthur and Talien Wan, thereby setting at nought all those objections to the occupancy of this part of the Chinese Empire by another Power to which she had attached such immense weight only a few years previously. Russia's next move was to obtain from the Koreans a lease of Masampho, in Korea, an important harbour directly facing Tsushima, Japan's westernmost outpost. To this the opposition of Japan and Great Britain was successful. Korea merely granted facilities for the establishment of a Russian coaling depot.

The Boxers' outbreak in China led to the almost universal expression of a desire that Japan should send troops to the rescue of the members of Foreign Legations in Peking, and Japan, ever mindful of the principles of humanity, and anxious to prove her entire sympathy with the sufferers by the Boxers' depredations, at once expressed her readiness to despatch an adequate army. The Peking Relief Expedition was promptly organized, and the forces of Japan took their places in line with those of Occidental nations in a supreme effort to avert the peril which overshadowed all the subjects

of foreign Powers then dwelling in the Chinese capital. In this expedition the Japanese troops greatly outnumbered those of any other country. Russia sent 4,000 men to Chihli to take part in the march to Peking, but she at the same time sent large bodies of troops into Manchuria on the pretext that a Boxer rising was imminent, and threatened the existence of the railway, then in course of construction and nearing completion. Ostensibly the Russians continued to find employment for their troops in Manchuria in the suppression of brigandage, but meanwhile they demanded and received their share of the indemnity paid by China not upon the basis of the contingent which had been sent to join the Peking Relief Force, but upon that of the entire number of men which it was alleged it had been found needful to send into Manchuria as well. The numerical strength was, however, greatly exaggerated, for Russia's share in the indemnity was actually calculated upon the footing of her having provided 170,000 troops, whereas in reality the sum total could not at the very utmost have exceeded 50,000. Even at that time Russia's behaviour in Manchuria had been such as to arouse suspicion, and had become matter for general comment. It is sufficient, however, to show that Russia was more than amply repaid by China for such assistance as she could claim to have rendered.

A passing reference should here be made to the Anglo-German Agreement of October, 1900. It was expressly laid down in that document that should any other Power seek to make use of the complications in China to extort advantages calculated to impair the undiminished territorial condition of the Chinese Empire, Germany and Britain would reserve it to themselves to come to an understanding as to the steps to be taken to protect their own interests in China. To this agreement all the Powers adhered in respect of its principles, and Japan actually accepted the position of a signatory. Thus there was a substantial basis for action in the event of China's territorial integrity being assailed; but, strangely enough, when the Manchurian

question reached an acute stage, Germany alone (besides Russia, of course) somewhat abruptly showed a reluctance to admit its application to Manchuria, but at the same time continued to give a general adhesion to the policy of the other Great Powers in regard to the Chinese Empire. Japan and Great Britain, however, found in it a basis, later on, as we shall see, for a formal declaration of alliance in respect of Chinese and Korean affairs.

On the last day of the year 1900 a memorable despatch was sent by cable to the *Times* newspaper in London by its correspondent in Peking, which drew the attention of the world to the part Russia was really playing, and which was diametrically opposed to her protestations of an unalterable desire to act in unison with all the nations concerned in the East. That despatch set forth the terms of an agreement which it was declared had been surreptitiously concluded between China and Russia, whereby Russia consented to the resumption of the civil government of Mukden and the Feng-tien Province only on condition that—

1. The Tartar General Tseng should undertake to protect and pacify the province, and to assist in the construction of the Russian railroad.
2. That he should treat kindly the Russians who were then and were to remain in military occupation, providing them with lodging and provisions.
3. That he should disarm and disband the Chinese soldiery, transferring to the Russians all munitions of war in arsenals which they had not already occupied.
4. That all forts, etc., not needed by the Russians should be dismantled.
5. That Newchwang (a treaty port) and other places then occupied by Russians should only be restored to Chinese civil administration when the Russian Government might be satisfied that the pacification of the province had actually been accomplished.
6. That the local Chinese police should maintain law and order under the control of the Tartar General.

7. That there should be a Russian political Resident at Mukden whom it would be obligatory upon the Tartar General to consult.

8. That should the local police be anywhere insufficient to cope with an emergency, Russian reinforcements should at once be called for, through the Russian Resident.

The functions conferred upon the Russian Resident were similar, it will be seen, to those of British Residents in the Native States of India, or of the Russian Resident at Bokhara. It was, moreover, made clear that this agreement would necessarily be followed by similar agreements relative to the other two provinces of Manchuria—viz., Kirin and Hé-lung-chiang—and that, inasmuch as Russia had under a pre-existing agreement secured the right to maintain troops in Manchuria for the protection of the "Eastern Chinese Railway," this division of the Chinese Empire would become *de facto* a Russian Protectorate.

Pressure was then put upon China by Great Britain, Germany, the United States, and Japan, not to commit the stupendous folly of entering upon any separate negotiations with Russia or any single Power, and the Emperor of China, on his part, likewise sought the conjoint mediation of these Powers. In the meantime a more trustworthy and even more disquieting draft of the Russian demands came to light. Diplomatic communications were exchanged with great activity between the Powers, chiefly directed against Russia, whilst Russia herself, with her accustomed craftiness, did her utmost to gain her point. At last, however, she had to give way, at all events for the time, and on April 5, 1901, the Government of St. Petersburg, in an official *communiqué* on the subject of its policy in China, published in the *Official Messenger*, positively stated that though the course of events in Pechili, and a series of acts of aggression committed by Chinese insurgents on the frontier of Russia had rendered necessary the occupation of the port of Newchwang and the entry of the Russian troops into Manchuria, these were to be con-

sidered temporary measures; that as soon as order had been permanently restored in Manchuria, and everything possible had been done to safeguard the railway, Russia would not fail to withdraw her troops from the territory of the Chinese Empire on her borders, provided that no obstacle was placed in her way by the action of the other Powers and of China herself. The introduction of this qualifying phrase was due, as was subsequently to be seen, to the sinister intention of withdrawing with one hand the benefits conferred by the other, since it would be at any time practicable for Russia to construe this clause as inapplicable by reason of the prolongation of disturbances in Manchuria which the Russian agents might themselves, if they chose, foment. The *communiqué* went on to state, with reference to the secret agreement previously alluded to as that which Russia surreptitiously sought to impose upon China, that that agreement was only intended to serve as a starting-point towards the realization of the declared intention of the Russian Government to restore Manchuria to China, it having only been occupied by Russia in consequence of the alarming events of the previous year. Russia complained that, owing to obstacles having been put in the way of the conclusion of this secret agreement, it was impossible for her to *immediately* take the measures contemplated for the gradual evacuation of Manchuria, but in a closing paragraph the Russian Government announced that, whilst maintaining the then existing *temporary* form of Government in Manchuria with the object of insuring order in the neighbourhood of the Russian frontier, but remaining unalterably true to its original programme as repeatedly formulated, it would quietly await the further progress of events.

In April, 1901, a week after the publication in the *Official Messenger*, Count Lamsdorff personally assured Sir Charles Scott, the representative of Great Britain, that it was entirely an erroneous conclusion that had been reached in some quarters that the Russian Government, by

dropping the negotiations for an early evacuation of Manchuria, as indicated above, evinced their intention of occupying that province indefinitely. The Emperor of Russia, said Count Lamsdorff, adhered unswervingly to his intention, so frankly and frequently declared, to withdraw the Russian troops of occupation and restore the province to its former Chinese administration as soon as a normal state of affairs in China and the reinstatement at Peking of the legitimate and independent central Government, capable of maintaining order in the Empire, admitted of this being done. Count Lamsdorff volunteered the statement, moreover, that the separate negotiations with China concerning the early evacuation of Manchuria had been dropped, and that nothing beyond a programme for the negotiations had ever been discussed. Sir Charles Scott found that his German and American colleagues at St. Petersburg had been by Count Lamsdorff similarly assured.

Four months later the British Minister in Peking found himself obliged to charge the Russian Government with a breach of faith, in that he had been informed, from a thoroughly trustworthy source, of Russia's resumption of negotiations with China to bring about the signature of a Manchurian agreement.

The Russians, telegraphed Sir Ernest Satow, denied this; but the accuracy of the British Minister's report was demonstrated by the signature of a protocol within four weeks of that date—viz., on September 7—and six months later the protocol was followed by a definite agreement between Russia and China, signed on March 26 (April 8), 1902. This agreement was made public in the *Official Messenger* four days afterwards, and in a Government communication preceding the text of the document it was declared in so many words that the Russian Government had assured the Chinese Emperor that Russia had no hostile intentions towards China, whose independence and integrity were the foundation of Russian policy in the Far East. Admitting, moreover, that the pacification of China

had progressed with notable success, and repeating the assurances that the only object with which Russian troops were sent into the Celestial Empire was the reinstatement of the lawful Government of China, with which friendly relations had existed from time immemorial, it was announced that the conditions of the recall of the Russian forces from Manchuria had been embodied in the agreement in question. At first it might be thought that Russia was actuated solely by *bonâ fide* in regard to her treatment of China, but in reality her ascendancy at the Chinese capital was procured either by bribery or coercion in some form or other, and the officials went in constant fear of the aggressive attitude of the Russian agents and representatives. So much was this the case that whilst the Chinese felt themselves compelled to agree to Russia's terms, they often complained to other Powers of the pressure to which they were thus subjected, and constantly appealed for assistance in resisting the Russian demands, which, as a matter of fact, had undergone much change, to China's advantage, in consequence.

Under that agreement Russia bound herself within six months from the date of signature (April 8, 1902) to clear the south-western portion of the province of Mukden of Russian troops up to the river Liao-che, and to hand the Shanhai Kwan and Newchwang railway over to China. She further undertook within the next six months to clear the remainder of the province of Mukden and the province of Kirin of Russian troops; and, finally, within the six months following, to remove the remaining Russian troops from the province of Hé-Lung-Chiang.

On the other hand, the Chinese Government bound itself to protect the railways of Manchuria in general by all means in its power, and to secure the safety in Manchuria of Russian subjects and their undertakings. The obligation to afford protection to the Shanhai Kwan and Newchwang railway was laid exclusively upon China, and it was a condition that she should not invite other Powers to

participate in its protection, construction, or working. Nor might she embark upon any extension of this railway, nor execute new works in connection therewith, notwithstanding that the line ran wholly through her own territory, without first consulting Russia. Further, she might not increase or diminish the number of her troops in Manchuria without notifying Russia, nor allow any other Powers to occupy the territory evacuated by the Russians.

Lord Lansdowne, in conversation with M. de Staal, the Russian Ambassador in London, on April 30, referred to this agreement, and explained that in Great Britain there was a disposition to criticise those provisions which limited China's right to dispose of her military forces and to construct railway extensions within her own territory. But as it was hoped that the evacuation of the province would be completed within the appointed time, and that the agreement would be loyally and considerately interpreted, Lord Lansdowne was indisposed to examine its provisions too microscopically.

In the Russian Government's communication prefacing the announcement of this agreement of April 8, 1902, it was expressly stated that the only object with which Russian troops were sent into the Celestial Empire was the reinstatement of the lawful Chinese Government and the re-establishment of order, and that as Russia had received China's written guarantee for the maintenance of order, and had been repaid the material expenses to which she was put by her military operations in China, the Russian Government saw no necessity for leaving armed forces within the confines of Manchuria.

So far Russia appeared to be in earnest, as far as evacuation was concerned, and to be acting in good faith, so much so that in October, 1902, Prince Ching informed the British Minister in Peking that the railways outside the Great Wall, as far as the Liao River, had been handed back to China by Russia, and that the south-west portion of Mukden province, as far as the river named, had been completely



evacuated by Russian troops. But Russia still retained in her own hands the administration of the treaty port of Newchwang, the Russian Consul combining with his ordinary duties those of civil administrator, and the Customs dues collected at the port were being paid into the Russo-Chinese Bank.

Meanwhile, the similarity of the interests of Great Britain and Japan in respect of the Far East had been manifested in so many ways that the desirability of the two countries uniting in a formal agreement was fully recognised, and in January, 1902, the Anglo-Japanese Convention was signed in London.

April 8, 1903, passed by, and still Newchwang was held by Russia, Admiral Alexieff making the excuse that German and English gunboats were at or off the port, and that he wished to obtain a guarantee from China that no foreign force would be permitted to occupy it. Some uneasiness being felt in London as to Russia's real intentions, Lord Lansdowne received on April 22 Count Beckendorff's assurances that if the retirement from Newchwang had not taken place it was only delayed for some special and sufficient cause.

Suddenly, as a bolt from the blue, in the latter part of April, 1903, the Russians made seven demands upon the Chinese Government at Peking, as conditions precedent to the evacuation of Manchuria, these demands preventing—

(a) The opening of any free port or establishment of a consulate of any other Power in the evacuated district.

(b) The employment of other than Russians "in the North."

The demands also included :

(c) The retention of the same status at Newchwang as regards administration as during occupation.

(d) The continued payment of the Customs dues into the Russo-Chinese Bank.

(e) The control of Newchwang sanitary affairs by Russians.

(f) The use of Chinese telegraph-poles throughout Manchuria for Russian wires ; and

(g) A final stipulation that no portion of the three provinces of which Manchuria consists should ever be alienated to any foreign Power.

The British Government, as also Japan and the other Powers, regarded these demands as quite inadmissible, and the British Chargé d'Affaires in Peking was instructed to inform the Chinese Government that they would by Great Britain be resented as an infraction of Article 54 of the Treaty of Tientsin (1858), which stipulated that the British Government and its subjects should be allowed free and equal participation in all privileges, immunities, and advantages that might have been or might thereafter be granted by China to the Government or subjects of any other nation.

The Chinese Government was assured by both Japan and Britain that it would receive similar support in resisting Russia's demands to that accorded to China at the time that the Manchurian Convention was being negotiated. The United States directed their Minister at Peking to urge upon the Chinese Government the advisability of refusing the Russian demands, and telegraphed to the American Ambassador at St. Petersburg to request explanations from the Russian Government.

Lord Lansdowne, on April 28, telegraphed to Sir Claude Macdonald at Tokio to assure the Japanese Government that Britain was supporting the representations made at St. Petersburg by the United States Government, and that the British Government was desirous of keeping in line with Japan during these negotiations.

On that day, April 28, 1903, the United States Ambassador at St. Petersburg was most positively assured by Count Lamsdorff that no such demands as those referred to had been made by the Russian Government. He was much surprised that Russia should have been suspected in any quarter of not wishing to observe the published con-

ditions of evacuation, confirmed as they had been by the solemn assurances of the Tsar. The denial was accepted by the United States Ambassador, who reported to Washington that the Russian Government further declared that there was no intention of seeking exclusive privileges for Russians in Manchuria, or of keeping the subjects or citizens of other Powers out of the advantages there enjoyed by Russians. Machiavellian diplomacy was never more completely illustrated than on this occasion.

The question of the opening of Antung, Tatungkau, and Mukden, afterwards provided for by commercial treaties between the United States and China, and between Japan and China, was at this time under consideration, and the prohibition contained in the first and second of Russia's conditions, put forward on or about April 20, 1903, was calculated to destroy the effect of the concessions which, in the interest of all nations, the Treaty Commission sitting at Shanghai was on the point of securing.

Simultaneously a movement of Russian troops was reported in the direction of Feng-whang-cheng and the Yalu River, which led to inquiries being made by Prince Ching, who was told by the Russian Chargé d'Affaires at Peking that the movement had been carried out in order to counteract a threatened Japanese movement. On June 17 Lord Lansdowne heard that the Chinese Government was being pressed by Russia to consent to the conditions which the Russian Government had endeavoured to attach to the evacuation of Manchuria, and particularly the first and second of the seven clauses, relative to foreign Consuls and the establishment of open ports in the districts to be evacuated. Prince Ching admitted that it was quite true that the Russian Legation at Peking had presented a Note containing quite unacceptable conditions, and which infringed China's sovereign rights, but the Chinese Government had refused to discuss them.

The Russian denials, made by Count Lamsdorff to the United States Ambassador at St. Petersburg, of any

demands embodying the conditions named having been presented to China, and Count Lamsdorff's expressions of surprise that Russia should be suspected in any quarter of departing from the published and solemn assurances given by the Tsar, created in Tokio the greatest astonishment, not unmingled with amusement, inasmuch as on the very day news was received there of Russian activity at the Yalu, and of coals and ammunition having been conveyed thither in vessels specially chartered by the Russian military authorities. Besides many aggressive measures Russia had begun to take in Korea, a large number of Russians, mostly soldiers, had settled down at Yongampho, ostensibly to establish a station in connection with the somewhat nebulous right relating to the timber-cutting concession exacted from Korea. Thereupon a proposal had been put forward by the United States and Japan, to which England fully assented, that Yongampho should be opened as a port for the trade of all nations, but Russia had exerted the utmost pressure upon the Koreans to prevent this being accomplished. This affords ample indication of the real trend of Russian policy in respect of Korea.

Several fresh demands were made by Russia to China in September, all of which were pregnant with selfishness, including the projects of constructing wharves on the Sungari with military protection, of establishing a separate inspectorate of customs for Manchuria, prejudicing the treaty rights of England, as well as of establishing new postal stations from Tsitsihar to Blagovestchensk, and the permanent rejection of any creation of foreign settlement at the towns in Manchuria which were to be opened under the new treaties soon to be signed with America and Japan. Japan, England, and America all made vigorous remonstrances with China for no less interest of her own than theirs, and the Chinese Government finally rejected the Russian demands. In the next month the American and Japanese treaties were signed, on the 8th and 9th respectively. Simultaneously with this the Russians began to

re-occupy rapidly the places they had once evacuated, and showed fresh and ever-increasing activity under the most exorbitant pretexts.

At the end of November Lord Lansdowne farther discussed with the Russian Ambassador in London the affairs of Manchuria, and pointed out that it was essential that treaty rights in all parts of the Chinese Empire should be respected, and that British trade should receive equal treatment in those regions. Lord Lansdowne further dwelt upon the deplorable effect produced by the neglect of the Russian Government to fulfil its pledges, and expressed his hope that the Russians were then in a position to fix a date for the evacuation, or at any rate to explain why this was not done.

On January 8, 1904, Count Beckendorff called upon Lord Lansdowne and made a specific declaration to the effect that Russia had no intention whatever of placing any obstacle in the way of the continued enjoyment by foreign Powers of the rights acquired by them in virtue of the treaties then in force. Lord Lansdowne said that he regretted that Russia should have found it impossible to take even a single step in pursuance of the policy which she thus prescribed for herself, and frankly told the Russian Ambassador that in Great Britain people were looking for some concrete evidence of Russia's intention to make good her promises.

We must now go back to July 28 of the same year (1903) to briefly review the steps taken by the Japanese Government itself. On that date Baron Komura telegraphed to Mr. Kurino, the Japanese Minister at St. Petersburg, directing him to place before the Russian Government a suggestion that the two Powers should enter upon an examination of the condition of affairs in the Extreme East where their interests met, with a view to a definition of their respective special interests in those regions. The Japanese Government was prepared, on its suggestion meeting with approval, to present to the Russian Govern-

ment its views as to the nature and scope of the proposed undertaking. Mr. Kurino was directed to state that Japan's purpose was entirely friendly, but that great importance was attached to the subject.

In proof of its ardent wish to remove all causes of misunderstanding, the Japanese Government, only six days later, telegraphed to Mr. Kurino the text of six propositions which it was desired to put forward as the basis of an understanding between Japan and Russia, and as everything may be said to have hinged upon the acceptance or non-acceptance of these spontaneous offers of the Japanese Government to negotiate a satisfactory settlement, it is well to give the proposals in detail :

1. Mutual engagement to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Chinese and Korean Empires, and to maintain the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations in those countries.

2. Reciprocal recognition of Japan's preponderating interests in Korea, and Russia's special interests in railway enterprises in Manchuria, and of the right of Japan to take in Korea, and of Russia to take in Manchuria, such measures as may be necessary for the protection of their respective interests as above defined, subject, however, to the provisions of Article 1 of this agreement.

3. Reciprocal undertaking on the part of Russia and Japan not to impede development of those industrial and commercial activities respectively of Japan in Korea and of Russia in Manchuria which are not inconsistent with the stipulations of Article 1 of this agreement.

Additional engagement on the part of Russia not to impede the eventual extension of the Korean Railway into Southern Manchuria so as to connect with the East China and Shanhaikwan-Newchwang lines.

4. Reciprocal engagement that in case it is found necessary to send troops by Japan to Korea, or by Russia to Manchuria, for the purpose either of protecting the interests mentioned in Article 2 of this agreement, or of suppressing

insurrection or disorder calculated to create international complications, the troops so sent are in no case to exceed the actual number required, and are to be forthwith recalled as soon as their missions are accomplished.

5. Recognition on the part of Russia of the exclusive right of Japan to give advice and assistance in the interest of reform and good government in Korea, including necessary military assistance.

6. This Agreement to supplant all previous arrangements between Japan and Russia respecting Korea.

Mr. Kurino was directed to say, in presenting these proposals, that they were offered in the firm belief that they might serve as a basis upon which to construct a satisfactory arrangement between the two Governments, and that Count Lamsdorff might be assured that any amendment or suggestion that he might find it necessary to offer would receive the immediate and friendly consideration of the Japanese Government.

These instructions were sent to Mr. Kurino in the anticipation that Russia's response to the Note Verbale presented by him six days before would be favourable. On August 5 Baron Komura was informed by Mr. Kurino that Count Lamsdorff had been authorized by the Tsar to open negotiations, and the Japanese Government, in directing its Minister to present the project in detail, as above quoted, took the opportunity to express its appreciation of the friendly spirit in which the Russian Government had received the proposal to open negotiations.

There was a loss of one week, owing to Count Lamsdorff being very much occupied, and unable, it was said, to receive Mr. Kurino; but on August 12 the project, in English, was duly handed to the Russian Foreign Minister, with a request that he would hasten the matter as much as possible. Twelve days passed, and Mr. Kurino saw Count Lamsdorff again, the delay being then ascribed to the absence of the Emperor at military manœuvres. A copy of the project had been sent by the Russian Government

to Admiral Alexieff, who was newly-made the Viceroy, at Port Arthur, and an effort was made to transfer the negotiations to Tokio. Japan resisted this on the plea that the negotiations related to principles rather than to details, and that Mr. Kurino was duly authorized. The point was made by Russia the subject of prolonged discussion, but in order not to waste more time the Japanese Government consented, on September 9, to have the negotiations transferred to Tokio, trusting that the Russian Minister there would be able to present Russia's counter-proposals without delay, and to proceed immediately with the negotiations.

After Baron Rosen had visited Port Arthur to confer with Admiral Alexieff, he handed to Baron Komura at Tokio a memorandum of Russia's counter-proposals, which amounted to an acceptance of Japan's suggestions only as regarded Korea, and completely ignored Japan's interests in Manchuria. Clause 7 was worded, in fact, as follows :

7. Recognition by Japan of Manchuria and its littoral as in all respects outside her sphere of interest.

The Russian counter-proposals resolved themselves, indeed, into a one-sided bargain, by which Russia was to have an entirely free hand in Manchuria and yet be allowed to place restrictions on Japan's action in Korea.

In the ensuing negotiations at Tokio the Japanese Government objected to the Russian Clause 7, quoted above, and in lieu thereof proposed :

7. Engagement on the part of Russia to respect China's sovereignty and territorial integrity in Manchuria, and not to interfere with Japan's commercial freedom in Manchuria.

8. Recognition by Japan of Russia's special interests in Manchuria, and of the right of Russia to take such measures as may be necessary for the protection of those interests, so long as such measures do not infringe the stipulations of the preceding article.



9. Mutual engagement not to impede the connection of the Korean Railway and the East China Railway when those railways shall have been eventually extended to the Yalu.

On October 22 it was stated by Baron Komura that no agreement could be reached as regards the Russian Clause 7, the Russian view being that the question of Manchuria was one that concerned exclusively Russia and China, admitting of no interference on the part of any third Power. Japan, on the other hand, insisted that she possessed in Manchuria her treaty rights and commercial interests, and that she must obtain from Russia a guarantee for the security of those rights and interests, as well as of the independence of Korea, which would be constantly menaced by Russia's definitive occupation of Manchuria.

It should here be stated that in the course of the pour-parlers between Baron Rosen and Baron Komura the idea was broached of the establishment of a neutral zone ; and as there then seemed to be no serious impediment to this course, Japan was willing that a strip of territory, measuring fifty kilometres in depth, on either side of the Yalu river should be marked off as neutral ground, which was agreed by Baron Rosen *ad referendum*. When the counter-proposal was received, however, Russia insisted that the neutral zone should wholly be in Korea, south of the Yalu, and should comprise that part of the empire north of the 39th parallel. This meant that more than a third of the Korean Empire, including Port Lazareff and Gensan on the east coast, the large commercial centre of Ping-Yang, and the mining districts—in a word, some of the most valuable and strategical portions of the peninsula—should be neutralized at Russia's will and pleasure. This most outrageous proposition evoked in Japan a perfect storm of indignation and protest.

On the last day of October Baron Rosen seems to have found it needful to telegraph to St. Petersburg the full text of Japan's amendments, stating that they went beyond his

instructions, and accordingly Mr. Kurino was directed to point out to Count Lamsdorff that, whilst Japan was prepared to admit that the Manchurian question, so far as it did not affect Japanese rights and interests, was purely a Russo-Chinese question, Japan had extensive and important rights and interests in that region, and that, if Japan were to be called upon to declare Manchuria to be outside her sphere of interest, she was at least entitled to ask for a correlative engagement on the part of Russia not to interfere with the commercial and residential rights and immunities belonging to Japan, in virtue of her treaty engagements with China.

A further delay of a fortnight was caused by Count Lamsdorff's absence from St. Petersburg, and then Mr. Kurino ascertained that it was still the Manchurian question which divided the two parties, Russia always regarding it as one exclusively concerning Russia and China, while Japan, in repudiating any intention of ignoring the special interests which Russia possessed in Manchuria, was, nevertheless, resolved that the independence and territorial integrity of China should be respected, and the rights and interests of Japan in that region formally guaranteed. Count Lamsdorff assured Mr. Kurino that Russia's objection related to the form rather than the substance of Japan's proposal, and Mr. Kurino thereupon expressed his sorrow that an understanding could not be reached merely for lack of a suitable formula by which to bring the two Governments to an arrangement, and ardently begged Count Lamsdorff to use his influence to bring about a satisfactory solution according to the principles already admitted by Russia.

On November 21 Baron Rosen declared himself to be without instructions, and Mr. Kurino was directed to see Count Lamsdorff and urge the importance of expedition. A week passed, during which Count Lamsdorff was supposed to have had audience of the Tsar, and it then appeared that the audience had been postponed owing to the illness of the Empress. Meanwhile Count Lamsdorff

was understood to be in constant communication with Admiral Alexieff. On various pretexts the issue of definite instructions to Baron Rosen, in spite of Mr. Kurino's repeated applications, was delayed, and at last, on December 9, it was said that orders had been sent to continue negotiations in Tokio on the basis of counter-proposals originating with Admiral Alexieff. The nature of these became apparent when Baron Rosen, on December 12, called to see Baron Komura at the Tokio Foreign Office. Manchuria was completely ignored as before, and the proposals were found to have reference solely to Korea. On December 21 Japan asked Russia to reconsider the position, and begged for an early response.

There was again a waste of time by Russia, and not until January 6 could anything in the nature of a reply be extracted, and then Japan was once more invited to declare Manchuria and its littoral as being outside her sphere of interests. Japan exerted herself in making her last and utmost concession, and, on January 13, virtually agreed to do this, provided Russia engaged herself to respect the territorial integrity of China in Manchuria, and not to impede Japan nor other Powers in the enjoyment of rights and privileges acquired by them under existing treaties with China—Russia to acknowledge, on the other hand, as was only fair, that Korea and its littoral were beyond the Russian sphere of interest. Japan was even willing to recognise Russia as having special interests in Manchuria, and as enjoying the right to take measures necessary for the protection of those interests. At the same time, Japan intimated Russia that these were the results of "the most careful and serious consideration," and were "proposed entirely in a spirit of conciliation," and that she expected them to be received "with the same spirit." Ten days passed, and Mr. Kurino was directed to sound Count Lamsdorff respecting the probable nature of Russia's reply to this note, and when the reply would be delivered. The answer was that there were certain points to which Count

Lamsdorff could not agree, but he hoped to send a reply before long. Baron Komura directed Mr. Kurino to urge that the situation admitted of no further delay. At this interview Count Lamsdorff complained, while regretting his inability to say when the answer would be ready, of Japan having sent troops and munitions of war into Korea, which was absolutely untrue. Baron Komura, on hearing of this, promptly instructed Mr. Kurino to give the statement an emphatic contradiction, and to inquire at the same time if it were true that Russian troops were being concentrated on the Korean frontier. Count Lamsdorff accepted the Japanese Government's assurance, and denied that Russian troops were near the Yalu. Count Lamsdorff was further urged to name a date when the reply would be sent, and on the 28th of January he explained that, though he could not give the exact date, he thought that an answer would be sent on February 2. Mr. Kurino continued to press upon Count Lamsdorff the urgency of the case, adding in so many words that further prolongation of the then existing conditions was "not only undesirable, but rather dangerous." "All the while the world was loud with rumours," he added, and expressed the hope that Count Lamsdorff would take special steps to have an answer sent at an earlier date than February 2. Count Lamsdorff repeated that he would do his best to send the reply on the date specified. Being directed by Baron Komura, Mr. Kurino once more urged Count Lamsdorff for an early reply in the evening of January 31, when he was told by the Count that it was impossible, and the exact date could not be fixed. Mr. Kurino's report reached Tokio the next day, and the position was gravely considered by the Government.

On the night of the 4th, at 8 p.m., Mr. Kurino saw Count Lamsdorff, who told him that the substance of the Russian answer had just been sent to Admiral Alexieff to be transmitted to Baron Rosen. From the hint given Mr. Kurino by the Count, it was plain that there was no

material change in the Russian attitude, even if the answer reached Japan in time, but it never did. Mr. Kurino's report about this interview reached Tokio February 5th, 5.15 p.m.

Meanwhile, at Tokio, February 2 came, but no Russian reply arrived, as was expected, and after further patient waiting, on February 5, at 2.15 p.m., Mr. Kurino was directed to address a signed note to Count Lamsdorff in the following terms :

“ The undersigned has the honour, in pursuance of instructions from his Government, to address His Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs in these words :

“ The Government of Japan regard the independence and territorial integrity of the Empire of Korea as essential to their own repose and safety, and they are consequently unable to view with indifference any action tending to render the position of Korea insecure.

“ The successive rejections by the Imperial Russian Government, by means of inadmissible amendments of Japan's proposals respecting Korea, the adoption of which the Imperial Government regarded as indispensable to assure the independence and territorial integrity of the Korean Empire and to safeguard Japan's preponderating interests in the Peninsula, coupled with the successive refusals of the Russian Government to enter into engagements to respect China's territorial integrity in Manchuria, which is seriously menaced by their continued occupation of the province, notwithstanding their treaty engagements with China and their repeated assurances to other Powers possessing interests in those regions, have made it necessary for the Japanese Government seriously to consider what measures of self-defence they are called upon to take.

“ In the presence of delays which remain largely unexplained, and naval and military activities which it is difficult to reconcile with entirely pacific aims, the Imperial Government have exercised in the depending negotiations a degree of forbearance which they believe affords abundant proof of their loyal desire to remove from their relations

with the Imperial Russian Government every cause for future misunderstanding. But finding in their efforts no prospect of securing an adhesion either to Japan's moderate and unselfish proposals, or to any other proposals likely to establish a firm and enduring peace in the Extreme East, the Imperial Government have no other alternative than to terminate the present futile negotiations.

"In adopting that course the Japanese Government reserve to themselves the right to take such independent action as they may deem best to consolidate and defend their menaced position, as well as to protect their established rights and legitimate interests."

Diplomatic relations were therefore severed, for which another Note was addressed to the Count as directed by Baron Komura, and Mr. Kurino withdrew from St. Petersburg. Soon after the last instruction was given to Mr. Kurino, on the 5th, the Japanese fleet was ordered to proceed from Sasebo, its base, to its objectives, and in the night of the 5th the war, which was thus forced upon Japan, commenced at Port Arthur.

In conclusion, it may be mentioned that the Japanese Government, in its genuine desire to avoid hostilities, went so far in the matter of concessions to Russia as directly to run the risk of arousing popular antagonism in Japan itself, and of jeopardizing the respect entertained for the nation in other lands. Yet all the time Russia, whilst pretending to carry on negotiations which should make towards a lasting peace, was sending to the Orient all the warships she had ready, and brigade upon brigade of troops, in defiance of her promises given to all the Powers of the world. Russia's policy throughout was cynically and outrageously insincere. Perhaps no more flagrant disregard of public opinion can be imagined than that of which Russia was guilty when, at the very moment when she ought, in fulfilment of her repeated pledges to Japan and the nations at large, to have been proceeding with the evacuation of

Manchuria, an Imperial ukase appeared (August 13, 1903) conferring upon Admiral Alexieff absolutely full powers over the army and navy and all branches of the administration as the Tsar's Viceroy in the Far East. The whole course of Russia's treatment of these grave matters was marked by a complete disregard even of international courtesy and diplomatic usage, inasmuch as though the Government of Tokio endeavoured throughout to carry on its negotiations in the customary way with the Government of St. Petersburg, the Russian tactics were to introduce on all possible occasions an intermediary in the person of this "Viceroy in the Far East"—tactics which Japan, in her desire for peace, was willing to ignore, notwithstanding the natural resentment felt at their adoption by Russia.

Russia's insincerity becomes more and more glaring when it is remembered that at the time of the Boxer troubles, Japan being about to send her troops to the relief of the Legations in Peking, Russia, in common with other Powers, expressed her gratification that Japan should do this, and went on to enlarge, in a Note to her representatives abroad, to be handed to the Governments to which they were respectively accredited, on the propriety of making it clear that the accomplishment of the task should not confer upon Japan the right to an independent solution of matters at Peking, or any other privileges, save, perhaps, to a larger indemnity should the Powers, later on, consider it necessary to demand one. The note proceeded to enunciate the fundamental principles, which she then considered as already had been accepted by the majority of the Powers, as the basis of their policy in China, these being the maintenance of the union between the Powers, the preservation of the existing system of government in China, the exclusion of anything that might lead to the partition of the Empire, and, finally, the re-establishment by common effort of a legitimate central power, itself capable

of securing order and security to the country ; adding also that the firm establishment and strict observance of these principles were, in her opinion, absolutely indispensable to the attainment of the chief object—the maintenance of a lasting peace in the Far East.

Despite all these solemn protestations, as has been amply demonstrated, Russia was ready at the first opportunity to cast all assurances to the winds.



## OUR RELATIONS WITH TIBET.

BY CAPTAIN GEORGE E. BRUCE.

FOR centuries past the mysterious land of Tibet has exercised a strange fascination over European travellers and explorers. As is the case with many of the wildest corners of the earth, the first Europeans to enter Tibet were the devoted missionaries of the Church of Rome. The earliest visitor was Friar Odoric of Pordenone, who about 1328 entered the country from China, and for three centuries he appears to have had no followers. Then the Jesuit Antonio Andrada, after terrible hardships, crossed the Himalayas in the region of Manasarawar, and traversed Tibet, finally emerging through China. In the seventeenth and the earlier part of the eighteenth centuries several Capuchin friars visited Lhasa, and in 1774 George Bogle was sent on an embassy to the Talé Lama by Warren Hastings, but stopped short at Shigatsé, as the unfriendliness and suspicion shown by the Regent made him unwilling to attempt a visit to the capital. In 1783 another embassy, under Captain Samuel Turner, traversed practically the same ground; but it was not till 1811 that an Englishman succeeded in reaching Lhasa. Mr. Thomas Manning, the friend of Charles Lamb (who had lived for some years in China), with no aid from Government and no official recognition, penetrated to Lhasa in the guise of a doctor, made friends with the lamas, and lived there for several months, until a message from the Emperor of China, requesting that his head should be sent to Peking, induced him to retrace his steps to India. The last Europeans to visit Lhasa were the French Lazarist Fathers, Huc and Gabet, who in 1845 entered Tibet after traversing China, and spent some months in the capital, where they were at first well treated by the Tibetans, but were finally expelled by the Chinese Resident, acting under the orders of his Government.

The early history of Tibet is wrapped in myth. The first King of whom we have any authentic record was Fanni Tübat, of the great Tartar clan of Tübat, who reigned about the year 461 A.D., and from whom Tibet is supposed by some to take its name, which is pronounced by the natives Tibbet, and is so spelt by Warren Hastings, though Englishmen nowadays put the accent on the last syllable. The fifth in descent from Fanni Tübat was Srong-btsan-sgampo, a powerful and enlightened King, who introduced Buddhism and handwriting from India, and founded the city of Lhasa in 639 A.D. He extended his kingdom as far as Ladak and Nepal, and Chinese historians assert that his rule ran to the Bay of Bengal, which they say was known up to the tenth century as the Tibetan Sea, but no mention of this appears in Indian history. In the eighth and ninth centuries Tibet was involved in war with China, but, after a prolonged struggle and severe fighting, peace was finally made in 821 A.D. The monarchy ended about 1026, and an interregnum ensued which lasted until 1256, when Kublai Khan, who had ascended the throne of China, entered Tibet and conquered the eastern portion. He largely increased the temporal power of the lamas, and thenceforth much jealousy and dissension arose between rival monasteries, culminating about the year 1340 in open war, which ended in Chyang Chub Gyaltsan, surnamed Phagmodu, from his native town, seizing the throne and establishing a dynasty of twelve Kings, who ruled for many years over Tibet proper and the south-eastern province of Kham. The last Kings of this dynasty, however, were too weak to control their turbulent subjects, and civil war again broke out. The Mongols then interfered, subjugated the country, and governed it with more or less success until 1720, when the Chinese finally reconquered it and established a suzerainty, which has existed, in name at least, until the present day.

Such, in brief, is the story of Tibet, but the real history of the country is the history of lamaism. This subject is

altogether outside the scope of the present article, but a short sketch will be necessary to explain the position occupied by the clergy in Tibetan politics and secular affairs.

The pure Buddhism inaugurated by Sakya Muni, and so beautifully described by Sir Edwin Arnold in "The Light of Asia," took deep root among the wild men who led a rough nomadic life among the desolate steppes and not overfertile valleys of the North. It is true that in adopting the new religion they retained much of the old savage devil-worship of their forefathers, and that many Hindu ideas were in time also incorporated with the creed; but Buddhism has ever since claimed Tibet as its chief stronghold, and to this day the sacred city of Lhasa is the goal of countless pilgrims from other countries, Chinese, Mongols, Buriats, Turkomans, Baltis, and many others. The religion being essentially one of rituals and ceremonies (at least, in its modern form), and a celibate life being one of its tenets, a huge army of priests and monks has grown up, numbering many thousands, the lamas of Lhasa alone being estimated at 20,000, while every town of any importance has its *gompa*, or monastery, and many more exist in places where there is no town.

The head of the religion is the Talé Lama, who lives in the great fortress-palace of Potala in Lhasa. He is reputed to be the incarnation of Buddha, and is known in Tibet as Thug-ché-chenpo Chanra-ssig, or "the most merciful all-seer," a title properly belonging to Avalokitesvara, or Arya Lokeshvara, one of the many mythical Buddhas or saints who preceded Sakya Muni, and whose history and attributes are lost in a bewildering maze of Hindu and Buddhist legend.

An axiom of the Tibetan religion is that the Talé Lama never dies. When weary at heart with the sins of mortal men, he retires for a space to Gah-Dan, or Paradise, and in due time he is reincarnated in a human child. During the first eighteen centuries after the death of Sakya Muni there

were only fourteen incarnations. Now, the Talé Lama no sooner retires than he is born anew, from which we may gather the comforting assurance that the world is vastly improved in moral tone. The first Talé Lama was Sonam Gyatsho, who in 1576 A.D. visited Mongolia as the guest of Althan Khan, "the golden chief," the great Mongol successor of Jenghiz Khan. After his return to Tibet, the lama received many embassies and presents from Althan Khan, who used to address him as Talé Lama. Talé is the Mongolian translation of *gyatsho*, and means ocean, Sonam Gyatsho being literally "ocean of virtue." Since then the supreme lama has always assumed the name of Gyatsho as a termination of his spiritual title, and the Mongols call him Talé Lama, which has been corrupted by Europeans into Dalai Lama. When in 1642 the Mongol chieftain Kushi Khan defeated and dethroned King Deba Tsang-pa of Tibet, he gave the sovereignty to the Talé Lama, appointing a Dési, or lay Governor, to manage the temporal affairs of the country, so that the lama should have leisure for his religious duties. By the year 1670 this official had become a mere puppet in the hands of the lama, and this state of things continued until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when, owing to Chinese interference, the office of Dési, or, as it was now styled, Gyal-po, was made elective, and vested in the Chief Lamas of four great monasteries. From that time the government of the country has been in the hands of a small oligarchy of powerful priests, and the Talé Lama has never, till quite recently, been anything but a figure-head. As soon as he attempted to assert any authority he was "reincarnated," and for many years no Talé Lama was allowed to come of age. The present incarnation, however, has succeeded not alone in attaining his majority, but in shaking off the influence of the Gyal-po, and in grasping the reins of power with a strong hand. Since the establishment of Chinese supremacy in Tibet, an Amban, or Resident, appointed by China has always lived at Lhasa and controlled the actions

of the Tibetan Government as the representative of the suzerain Power ; but the present Talé Lama does what he likes, and refuses to be dictated to by the Amban. This has put a totally different complexion on the foreign policy of Tibet, which will be referred to later, when we come to deal with the present relations between that country and India.

Tibet owes its remarkable isolation from the outside world primarily to its geographical position. Between the Himalayas and the northern ranges of the Kuen-Lun and Arkha Tagh lies the Chang-tang, or "northern plain," the highest and most extensive tableland in the world, comprising some 300,000 square miles of bleak and barren waste at an average altitude of 14,000 to 16,000 feet above sea-level. North of this, again, lie the trackless sand-deserts of Gobi and Takla Makan, and along the whole southern border of Tibet the huge wall of the Himalayas bars the road to India ; while in the south-east wild tribes, such as the Abors and Mishmis, prevent any intercourse with Burma or Assam. Thus Tibet is effectually shut off from her neighbours, except in the North-east and East, where a number of large rivers, springing from the edge of the plateau, flow into Chinese territory, forming so many roads from China into Tibet, and hence we find that the Mongols and Chinese alone of all nations have ever invaded Tibet or established close intercourse with the inhabitants.

The total extent of Tibet is certainly not less than 700,000 square miles. The country is divided into four great provinces : Nari (Mngah-ris), chiefly consisting of the Chang-tang, and reaching to Kashmir ; Tsang, on the upper waters of the Tsang-pu River, extending as far as Shigatsé ; U (Dbus), meaning "central," the most fertile and populous part of Tibet, containing the holy city of Lhasa ; and Kham, which includes the eastern districts adjoining China, governed by eighteen chiefs who only owe a nominal allegiance to the Talé Lama. Tsang and U

constitute Tibet proper, and are governed directly from Lhasa. The administrative organization bears a curious resemblance to that of the Indian Civil Service. Thus, the Viceroy's Council has its counterpart in the Council of Kahlons or Ministers, four of whom are selected from among the great nobles and one from among the highest lamas. Indian Commissioners and Collectors are represented by the Dah-pons and Jong-pons, who, however, in addition to their civil duties hold military commands in time of war. The Dong-khors correspond to the Revenue Department, and their accounts are annually audited by a Revenue Commissioner, or Kargya-pa. The Sha-che-pa are the High Court Judges, and the Shu-len-pa the District Judges, though, by a curious custom, when the High Court is sitting the Shu-len-pa appear before it in the capacity of barristers.

Tibet has a simple code of laws based largely on a system similar to that of "rett" among the Norsemen, or "wergild" among the Saxons. Almost all crimes can be expiated by a fine calculated on the character of the offence and the social rank of the person injured. Thus, the penalty for killing a man of the lowest class is about 17s. 6d., while the murder of a prince or a lama of high sanctity must be atoned for by a weight of gold equal to the weight of the corpse. If this quantity of gold cannot be procured, the equivalent value in silver, cattle, etc., may be accepted, and all the relatives of the murderer may be called upon to make good any deficit. In practice, however, these huge fines are never levied, capital punishment and imprisonment for life taking their place; and of late years the Chinese have introduced torture and mutilation, which appear to have had no place in the old Tibetan code. The person and property of a lama are always treated as more important than those of a layman, and offences against them are more heavily dealt with. Bribery is strictly forbidden, and the edicts lay great stress on judicial purity; but, as a matter of fact, there are few judges in Tibet who will not accept a bribe.

Taxation is heavy, the land-tax averaging from three-sixteenths of the crop in a bad year to two-fifths in a plentiful season; while persons who own no land pay a capitation tax of 10s. yearly. Eighteenpence a head is levied on cattle, and 6d. on pigs, besides which the farmers are bound to provide free transport for all persons travelling with a *lamyig* or Government passport; and all merchants entering the country have to pay a Customs duty on their goods.

The Tibetans are a sturdy and well-developed race, of Mongolian origin. They are of hardy constitution, and can stand extreme cold well. The lower classes wear little but a coarse shirt, a loose tunic of heavy woollen cloth or sheepskin, and long felt boots, gartered below the knee with a string, and often split at the back to allow free play to the calf muscles. Round the waist is a belt or rope, and the upper part of the tunic forms a capacious pocket, containing an extraordinary collection of articles—food, tobacco, snuff-box, pipe, tinder-box, and the *p'orpa*, or wooden bowl, which is used for all kinds of food and drink, being licked clean and replaced when empty. Both sexes are clothed somewhat similarly, but the women wear two pigtails, the men only one. The upper classes dress more elaborately, usually in silk and costly woollen cloth. The long boots are made of velvet or fine white felt, and a bright-coloured cloak of fine woollen material is worn, the head being covered with a wide-brimmed felt hat or a silk cap. The whole nation are extremely dirty, and rarely wash, a common fault among the inhabitants of very cold climates. Their food is simple, the poorer classes subsisting mainly on mutton dried into a kind of biltong, and barley-meal. The barley is first parched, then ground, and mixed with water, tea, or whey, to form a paste, and eaten in this state. The rich eat beef and mutton, cooked with barley-flour and radishes, buttered rice, fish, gruel mixed with eggs, and various small delicacies imported from China, while all classes are exceedingly fond of tea. This is also

brought from China in the form of bricks, and varies greatly both in quality and cost, the best kinds, such as *duthang* and *duthang ñipa*, fetching a high price, while the cheapest sort costs less than a penny a pound. This tea is boiled with butter, and sometimes thickened with flour, and is drunk on all occasions of ceremony as well as at meals. A visitor on arrival is always offered tea, and Tibetan etiquette prescribes that he should drink exactly one-third of the cup at the first draught. To take less would be a reflection on his host's cook ; to take more would be greedy. Sarat Chandra Das, in his "Narrative of a Journey to Lhasa," gives an interesting account of a tea-party to which he was invited by a Tibetan Princess : "The room was about 16 feet long and 12 feet wide. Against the eastern wall stood two chests of drawers made after the Chinese fashion, on the tops of which china cups were tastefully arranged. The western and northern walls were covered with Chinese pictures, mostly picnic and dancing scenes. Excellent Yarkand and Tibet carpets were laid down ; the ceiling was of the finest Chinese satin. Nicely polished dining-tables, wooden bowls to hold barley-flour, small fancy tables, stuffed rugs covered with satin, made up the furniture of the room."

The tea was of the finest quality, served in china cups and bowls of maple-knot, mounted with silver and gold, and was accompanied by sugar-covered biscuits, buck-wheat cakes, minced mutton, egg gruel, and sweetmeats.

Simple as the Tibetans are in their habits, they are by no means savage or uncivilized. The great monasteries of Lhasa, Tashi-Lhunpo, Samding, Samyé, and Mindolling, have been celebrated for many centuries as seats of learning. Founded and endowed by Kings and great chieftains of ancient days, they are immensely rich in gold and jewels, which are lavishly used for the adornment of shrines and images. Though foreigners are excluded from the country, foreign inventions and foreign learning are much sought after by the better-educated. In 1881 Sarat Chandra Das



describes Phala, one of the chief Ministers of the Talé Lama, himself a great noble and a lama of the highest sanctity, as studying English with a view to translating Ganot's "Physics" into Tibetan. He was also engaged at that time in writing a book on history, rhetoric, astronomy, and science, the latter comprising chapters on chemistry, photography, and telegraphy, illustrated with diagrams taken from English works on these subjects.

But in Tibet, as in all priest-ridden countries, learning and enlightenment are a monopoly of the few. The bulk of the nation are hopelessly ignorant, and of the vast number of monks and priests who crowd the *gompas* and fatten on the labour of the laymen, the greater part are lazy, sensual, immoral, and degraded. Robbery and murder are not unknown among them; in fact, some of them are little better than banditti. The intense dislike of the Tibetans to strangers is nowadays mainly due to the influence of the lamas. In former days the feeling towards foreigners was not unfriendly except at Lhasa, where the authorities were under Chinese control. The Capuchin friars in 1760, Manning in 1812, Huc and Gabet in 1846, were all driven from Tibet by the Chinese, but since the chief power passed into the hands of the Buddhist priesthood these ecclesiastics found that the policy of exclusion exactly suited their interests, and anti-foreign feeling is now sedulously fostered by the Government of the Talé Lama. Bearing in mind the composition of that Government as described above, the following extract from a report furnished last year by a political officer attached to Colonel Younghusband's mission is most interesting: "It may be asked how the monastic influence is brought to bear on a Government in which three out of four of the principal Ministers are laymen. The fact seems to be that lying behind the Talé Lama, the Ministers, and all the machinery of the Tibetan Government, as we have hitherto been acquainted with it, there is an institution called the Tsong-du-chembo, or, as the word implies, Great Assembly. It

is constituted from the Kenpas or Abbots of the three great monasteries, representatives from the four small monasteries in Lhasa City, and from all the other monasteries in the province of U ; and besides these, all the officials of the Government are present, laymen and ecclesiastics alike, to the number of several hundreds. . . . It is convoked only upon occasions of national need or importance, but more especially with reference to frontier matters. In the Tsong-du meetings the Abbots of the three great monasteries appear to be the preponderating influence, and this is natural when we recollect that they are backed by a following of above 20,000 armed and bigoted monks within easy reach. Their views, and those of their brother Abbots from elsewhere, undoubtedly sway the assembly and dictate the policy of the country." Hence we see that the present negotiations are being conducted, not with China, whose influence has waned almost to the vanishing point, nor with an autocratic ruler, but with a strong body of bigoted clergy whose interests lie entirely in keeping the people in a state of complete subjection, and who dread the influence of strangers as being likely to weaken their power over the laity.

The revenues of the monasteries, the private income of the Talé Lama, a large royalty on tea imported from China, and many other advantages now accruing to the lamas, would be seriously threatened by an influx of foreigners of other religions and with wider views than are commonly held in Tibet, and hence the bitter opposition to the opening up of the country. The fiction of Chinese suzerainty has been worked for all that it is worth, and it is high time that the whole matter of our relations with Tibet should be treated in a different manner to that hitherto adopted.

We will now glance briefly at the history of these relations. The first attempts to open up communication between the British in India and the Tibetans were made by Warren Hastings, who, whatever his faults may have been, was gifted in no common degree with political fore-

sight, and was able, beyond almost any Englishman of his time, to "think imperially." He conceived the idea of establishing important trade relations with Tibet, and his embassies to that country, ably conducted by Mr. Bogle and Captain Turner, succeeded in commencing a most friendly intercourse with the Teshu Lama of Tashi-Lhunpo, the second greatest personage in Tibet, although the Lhasa Government, probably at the instigation of the Chinese Amban, treated his overtures with suspicion.

However, the want of a continuous policy, which has always been the bane of British statesmanship, frustrated his endeavours, and after his retirement from the public service no attempt was made to carry out his ideas until 1884, when Mr. Colman Macauley was sent on a mission to the border, which accomplished nothing, although it tended to show that it was the lamas, and not the Tibetan people, who were unwilling to admit foreigners.

Soon afterwards a serious intrigue between Lhasa and the Raja of Sikkim compelled the intervention of the Indian Government, and it was proposed in 1886 to send Mr. Macauley again on a political mission to Tibet, but this time he was to go to Lhasa. The preparations for this mission alarmed the Tibetans, who induced the Chinese Government to make a formal request that the mission should be withdrawn, and this was accordingly done. As might have been foreseen by anyone with a knowledge of Asiatic character, this action was attributed to weakness and fear of China, and the immediate result was that a Tibetan force crossed the Sikkim frontier by the Jélap Pass, entrenched itself across the Darjeeling-Tibet road, stopped all trade, and refused to retire. China was appealed to, but expressed her inability to control the Tibetans, and after eighteen months of fruitless negotiations a column was sent to turn out the intruders. Some desultory fighting followed, but on September 24, 1888, the Tibetan works were carried by storm and the defenders driven back over the border with a loss of some 1,500 killed and wounded.

The troops pursued them as far as Chumbi, but were quickly withdrawn out of deference to the feelings of China, who now appeared as the suzerain Power and announced her intention of settling the dispute. A Convention was signed in Calcutta in 1890 between the Viceroy and the Chinese Amban, defining the Sikkim-Tibet boundary, recognising the British Protectorate over Sikkim, and reserving certain other questions for future discussion.

These questions were finally disposed of in 1893, and various regulations were drawn up, fixing upon Yatung as a trade-mart, to which both sides should have free access, and where no duty was to be levied on any goods for a period of five years, after which a tariff might be mutually agreed upon. During this five years Indian tea was to be excluded from the Tibetan market, but after that it was to be admitted, subject to a duty not exceeding that at which Chinese tea is imported into England. Tibetans grazing cattle in Sikkim territory were to be governed by such regulations as the Indian Government should enact.

The Tibetans, however, declined point-blank to recognise this treaty, declaring that it was made with China and not with them, and that it did not bind them in any way. Yatung, it is true, was an open mart, but all traders were stopped at Phari, where a 10 per cent. *ad valorem* duty was levied on all goods imported and exported. Very few traders were allowed to come as far as Yatung, and the import of Indian tea was prohibited. The treaty boundary, which was to follow the watershed, was completely ignored, and a wall and blockhouse were built at Giagong in Sikkim territory, where a small garrison was also posted. The pillars erected on the passes to mark the treaty boundary were broken down or carried away, and all demands for satisfaction were met with insolence and contempt. Two letters from the Viceroy to the Talé Llama, stating the case in moderate and friendly language and asking for redress, were returned unread, and at last the Political Officer in

Sikhim was sent with an escort to Giagong to expel the Tibetan guard and to demolish the wall. This was accomplished without opposition, but China demanded explanations, and after some correspondence it was agreed that the Indian Government and China should appoint Commissioners, who should be met at Khamba Jong in Tibet by a high official from Lhasa, and that the matters in dispute should be finally settled, and a treaty drawn up to the satisfaction of all parties.

The British Commissioner accordingly went with an escort to Khamba Jong, but was met after some delay by a Chinaman of inferior rank and two Tibetan envoys, a secretary to the Talé Lama, and a Dahpon, or district Governor, none of whom were thought by the mission to be persons of sufficient position to treat with. Long and fruitless discussions followed, the Tibetans absolutely refusing to forward a letter to Lhasa, and declining to take any action whatever until the mission withdrew to British territory.

At last, the patience of the Indian Government being completely exhausted, the mission was recalled and sent with a stronger escort over the Jélap La, or Pass, whence they have since advanced through the Chumbi Valley to Gyang-tsé, after defeating several bodies of Tibetan troops, who opposed their march.

Here, however, the mission has come to a standstill, the Lhasa Government having raised the tribes of U and Kham to resist the strangers; and the expedition is now practically besieged in its camp, with no prospect of being able to resume its advance until the arrival of considerable reinforcements from India. A new and serious complication has also appeared since the mission had its first fight with the Tibetan levies at Guru. The stubborn opposition of the Lamas is found to be backed up by rifles and ammunition of Russian make; and the boasts of the Tibetans, that they are supported by a greater and stronger power than China, are evidently founded on something

more substantial than vague promises by irresponsible subjects of the Tsar.

Throughout the past year the name of Dorjieff has been constantly connected with rumours of Russian intrigue in Tibet, and it has now been ascertained, with every appearance of truth, that this man holds a position of the highest trust in Lhasa, and that his influence over the Talé Lama is unbounded. His career has been an extraordinary one. Born in Azochozki, in Transbaikal (Russian) territory, Ghomang Lobzang, a Mongol Buriat, arrived in Lhasa some twenty-five years ago, and entered one of the leading monasteries as a lama. His ability and learning brought him to the notice of the authorities, and in 1898, when about fifty-two years of age, he was entrusted with the duty of collecting contributions from the Buddhist residents in Southern Russia. Here he fell in with certain Russian officials, and returned to Lhasa with valuable presents for the Talé Lama, from which time, under the Russianized name of Dorjieff, he has been the intermediary between the Russian Government and Tibet.

We need not follow the course of these negotiations further than to note that, in spite of strong opposition from the Chinese Amban, who denounced him as a traitor, he has made two more journeys to Russia, has been personally interviewed by the Tsar, and now holds the important post of Treasurer of Tibet and Master of the Mint at Lhasa, where he uses his powerful influence to promote Russian interests in every way.

He has imported the Russian rifles which are now being used against us, and has persuaded a large section of the Tibetan Government that they can rely upon Russian assistance in case of trouble with India.

A glance at the map and a slight acquaintance with the writings of such travellers as Mr. St. George Littledale, Captain Wellby, and Dr. Sven Hedin, will show the utter impossibility of Russia affording any material assistance to Tibet in time of war. From Andijan, the terminus of the

Russian Central Asiatic Railway, to Lhasa is 1,330 miles as the crow flies. From Fort Pamir, the extreme Russian outpost on the Murghab River, to Lhasa is 1,160 miles. The distance by road in either case would probably be half as much again. Of the country to be traversed, Captain Wellby writes: "For four months we saw no vegetation higher than an onion, and for nearly four months our camp was at an average height of 16,000 feet. For more than fourteen weeks we travelled without seeing any sign of mankind."

The summer temperature varies from 110° F. to 25° of frost at night, while in the winter it often ranges from 20° F. at mid-day to 30° below zero at night. This terrible cold is made worse by a bitter wind, which even sheep-skins fail to keep out, while the only fuel to be had is the droppings of wild animals and the scanty plants of "boortza" (*Eurotia ceratoides*). Add to this that nearly all the Tibetan lakes are salt, and that water must be obtained by digging at most camps, and it will be seen that to move even the smallest fighting force from Russian territory to Lhasa would be a task calculated to dismay a Napoleon or a Hannibal. No army has ever crossed Western Tibet. Even Jenghiz Khan himself marched round by Bokhara and Afghanistan rather than attempt it. Out of thirty-nine camels and some eighty horses and mules with which Sven Hedin started from Charklik to cross Tibet, only nine camels reached Leh, and out of 160 pack animals which Littledale took into the country in 1895, only two ponies and six mules survived the journey. Thus actual Russian intervention in Tibet may be considered outside the bounds of possibility, but no settlement can be effected with the Lhasa monks until this fact is thoroughly brought home to them.

It is clear that, as we have advanced so far on what now turns out to be a more difficult and dangerous mission than was expected, there must be no retreat. To retire from Tibet without effecting a full settlement of the frontier

question would be to leave Dorjieff and the Russophil party masters of the situation, and to force on the mind of every native in Central and Southern Asia the impression that a threat of Russian intervention was sufficient to cow the British Raj. The long-suffering and forbearance of the Indian Government have been too often misinterpreted by native tribes as fear. Englishmen may pride themselves on their generosity, but "east of Aden," as has been well said, "generosity is only shown by the weak towards the strong." For thirty centuries the creed of Asia has been that "might is right," and our own prestige in the East has waxed and waned in direct proportion to the strength or weakness of our policy. Lord Lansdowne has already distinctly informed Russia that we will allow no interference on her part between ourselves and Tibet, and this fact must at all costs be brought home both to Lhasa and to St. Petersburg.

The Tibetans of the districts through which the Mission has passed are already most friendly to us, and there is little doubt that the nation at large would welcome the weakening of the corrupt and tyrannical oligarchy by which they are now ruled. Many acts of oppression, notably the murder of the saintly and beloved Sinchen Lama and his household for having befriended the Indian explorer, Sarat Chandra Das, still rankle in the minds of the men of Tsang ; and they only require assurance of protection from the vengeance of the Lhasa hierarchy to become friendly neighbours and to open up their country to our commerce.

There are vast possibilities of trade with Tibet in wool, salt, borax, skins, furs, and musk, while gold is believed to exist there in large quantities. Practically the whole of this trade now finds its way to China, but if once relations could be established, and Indian tea and English manufactures placed on the Tibetan market, the export trade would, as always, follow the line of least resistance, and the wise policy of Warren Hastings would be at last carried out on a larger scale and with a wider scope than even that far-sighted statesman could have ever dreamt of.



## THE EMPIRE'S GREATEST COMMERCIAL ASSET.\*

BY FRANK BIRDWOOD.

THE total value of the merchandise purchased last year by the United Kingdom from Canada was £26,700,000, from Australia £16,500,000, from New Zealand £10,000,000, and from the rest of the British colonies some £23,000,000; but the imports from India were £36,036,000, and thereby she took her place at the head of the list. British goods were sold to South Africa to the value of £25,300,000, to Australia £16,100,000, to Canada £11,000,000, and to the remaining colonies £22,000,000; but the exports to India were of the value of £35,700,000, and again she headed the list. Among the children of Great Britain she is the Mother Country's best customer, and she fulfils in the domain of commerce what is deemed to be one of the essential requirements of the British Navy; for when her exports and imports are added together it will be found that the value of her trade with the United Kingdom is more than equal to that of any two of her rivals combined. These are facts, and form the only apology which I propose to offer in naming India the Empire's greatest commercial asset. This, too, must be remembered, that this trade of hers is founded on a basis of imperfectly developed resources, and that it is monetary enterprise alone which is required to bring her latent wealth to fruition, and so we find ourselves face to face with the question, How comes it that India's industries are shunned by Western capital, and that, while wealth pours in a constant stream towards Africa, Australia, or the freebooting Republics of Central or South America, but a tiny trickle finds its way into Hindustan? Is it forgetfulness or lack of knowledge of her potentialities, or has a taboo been declared

\* For discussion on this paper, see Report of the Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in this *Review*.

against the industrial progress of the Dependency? And how is a part of the stream to be diverted Indiawards? That is the problem with which we have to deal to-day, and its scope is so great that it would be well at the outset to state the exact extent of the ground which I propose to cover, so that as each industry is dealt with the general conclusion aimed at may be kept clearly in sight. In the first place, I will review quite briefly, and without going into detail, the work done by the British Government in India during recent years in order to show that it has brought about a state of affairs so satisfactory that, assuming her industries (I am using the word in its broadest sense, and include all manufactures) are worth supporting, a fair field lies open for the investment of capital. For the purpose of convenience I propose ranging India's industries under three heads—the major, the minor, and the unexploited. The division is purely arbitrary, and there will be found to be a certain amount of misplacement and overlapping, but in the result the plan may be found to have its advantages.

In regard to what I am calling the major industries (such as cotton, jute, and tea) figures will be quoted showing the work done in recent years and the advance made. From these I purpose passing to those resources of a perhaps lesser known character, but which have attained such a position as will safely enable the deduction to be drawn that they offer profitable investment, assuming that capital in sufficient quantities is forthcoming. Passing on to a multitude of smaller industries which, containing all the elements of wealth, have existed in the past, but which from one cause or another have either disappeared or have been left unexploited, I will endeavour from a general survey of the industrial field to draw the conclusion that capital alone is required to bring about an awakening of commercial India—I will suggest a reason why such capital has not been forthcoming hitherto, and indicate what action is required, in my opinion, to head it off in the desired direction. That the prize is worth the winning should go unquestioned.

Since the days of Sir John Lancaster, who with his "adventurers" risked a capital of "£72,000 to be employed in ships and merchandises," and spent some three and a half years in the "discovery of a trade in East India to bring to this realm spice and other commodities," knowledge of India's wealth and the value of her trade has grown and fructified, until to-day her imports, mainly from the United Kingdom, bulk out at £35,000,000 a year, while in the words of Lord Curzon "the capabilities of India, either hidden beneath the soil or latent in the industry or ingenuity of its artisans, deserve, and will attain, a great development." The import trade, as we have seen, is greater than that of any other British possession, but India's exports are mainly raw material. It is to foster the manufacture of her own products that capital is principally required to enable her to become self-sufficing as against all foreign (and in that phrase for the moment I include British) imports, to enable her to feed the outside markets with her own home-made goods, and to enable her to take her proper seat in the Council Chamber of the Empire.

And now let us see what the past has done, and what the present is doing, so to advance the material prosperity of India as to offer inducement to the capitalist to entrust his millions to her keeping.

The duty of a paternal Government is, I presume, to open up a country, and, at the same time, to perform a similar operation upon the minds of its inhabitants. The main factors required to carry this into effect are railways, roads, and irrigation works, leading through agriculture to the general relief of a people ready to repay the benefits conferred by a Government system of education.

A remarkable extension of communication by rail is shown within recent years, for the 17,000 miles of 1892 had risen to 27,144 miles up to the end of the last financial year, 1903-1904, while 3,000 miles are awaiting completion. It is satisfactory to note that the construction of subsidiary lines by local authorities has been initiated, thus bringing about that intercommunication which is ultimately destined

to link up the chief markets of India. So far so good, and I am not trying to minimize the assistance which railways have afforded in dealing with famine, and in facilitating the distribution of relief; yet when the mileage of the main lines is compared with the population of India, and a like comparison is drawn between rail and population in Great Britain (I admit that the parallel is not exact having regard to the habits of the people of England and India), and if at the same time it is noted how puny the work of the branch lines really is compared to India's wants, it will be found that figures which loom out so largely in a Blue-Book are almost farcical in their insincerity. Light railways are one of India's crying needs, and until the country has a network of them it is almost impossible to cause that intercommunication of the various peoples from which alone general industrial prosperity can arise. In railways, therefore, though good work has been done, and the State aid in railway construction (though rightly in some cases viewed with suspicion in the City of London, for the action of Government has not always been above criticism, and particularly in regard to feeder lines, where the terms offered do not insure the 4 per cent. return virtually promised) has helped to foster industries, much remains for private enterprise to perform.

Next in order come roads and the construction of public buildings, including water-supply, sanitation, lighthouses, ferries and bridges. In this matter, too, Government action has borne good fruit, especially in famine times, for once again thereby relief was brought to the drought-smitten districts in that means of labour came to those who must otherwise have perished, and such labour was turned to India's good. In the Central Provinces alone, in 1896, 570 miles of road were constructed and 819 miles improved, while India's total expenditure on public works, exclusive of railways and irrigation, was £4,565,925. It will thus be seen that a considerable sum was spent in wages; and when it is considered that famine in India is the result

not of scarcity of food, but of lack of money enabling people to buy food, it will be seen how great a boon a wage-distributing authority can become.

A similar good record is shown in the matter of irrigation works, for there are 44,000,000 acres of land in British India irrigated from canals, wells, tanks, and other sources, and the recent Commission reported that "considering both the extent and proficiency of the protection afforded, it may be said that the State and private irrigation play an almost equal part in the protection of the country from drought." Thereby an increased return from the soil is assured in ordinary seasons, while the crops are secured in time of drought.

Following on, and coupled with irrigation, came the necessity for agricultural improvements, and if reference is made to the report of the Famine Commissioners of 1880, it will be found that stress is laid on the institution of scientific inquiry and experiments in order to insure efficiency in agricultural methods and a corresponding increase in the food-supply of the country. At its inception the Agricultural Department busied itself with the collection of facts before entering on scientific investigation. In recent years, however, an Inspector-General of Agriculture has been appointed, and a scheme has now been adopted for the creation of a research laboratory and training college, with an experimental farm attached. The question of cattle-breeding and the prevention of excessive mortality amongst stock has been considered, and a bacteriological farm has been provided in the Himalayas.

Other measures to which detailed reference cannot be made have been taken by Lord Curzon's Government. And perhaps I may be allowed this opportunity of stating how deep a debt of gratitude the mercantile community abroad and at home owe to Lord Curzon, and how earnest their hope is that during his extended term of office his policy, which is recognised by us all to be founded on a determined desire to foster the welfare of India, may meet with an enlarged success.

### MAJOR INDUSTRIES.

We will now pass on to review India's various industries, in order that some idea may be gained as to how, arising out of stability of Government and some State assistance, her industrial activity has been stimulated. I will first deal with the major industries, ranking among them cotton, jute, tea, rice, indigo, and the practically revenue-producing opium, salt, and timber.

We will take COTTON first, the "premier" industry, to quote Sir Edward Law. It is just half a century since the Bombay Spinning and Weaving Company started the first cotton-mill in India. In 1861 the one mill had become twelve, owning between them 338,000 spindles, and annually consuming 65,000 bales. In 1891 the number of spindles had risen to 3,300,000, and another decade showed an increase to 5,000,000. The daily average of hands employed within that same period rose from 118,000 to 174,000. In spite of this, and of the fact that the cultivation of cotton is slightly on the increase, but slow progress is being made, and the acreage under cultivation fluctuates, but shows little permanent expansion. The cotton-mills have had their cycles of bad as well as very good times, and have felt the pinch of overproduction and bad management; their numbers, indeed, have increased, but plague, famine, and drought, and the depreciation of silver in China, have brought many of them financially to a perilously low ebb. To go into the question of cotton duty and Excise is not pertinent to this paper. India's competition, 125 years ago was a source of anxiety to the manufacturer of Lancashire, but the throwing open of Arkwright's patents in 1875 put a sudden stop to the import into England of the product of the hand-loom of India. As her means of production expand, however, it is no mere dream to imagine that she may one day be able to manufacture not only for her own requirements, but to satisfy even the major portion of the wants of other Eastern countries. But before this can be accomplished those

attempts which are now being made to cultivate long-stapled exotic cotton will have to prove successful, and the hand-loom weavers must be willing to adopt modern methods. Meanwhile, to-day, apparently, demand and supply about balance. If, however, capital is required, India can undoubtedly find it, but the bugbear of over-production dominates affairs.

And what is true of cotton obtains also in a measure in the case of JUTE, an industry which now ranks second in importance to cotton as a raw material for British manufacture, but which eighty years ago was practically non-existent. In 1863 jute works began to spring up rapidly in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, while in 1903 113,000 persons were employed in thirty-five jute-mills having a capital of £4,641,894, controlling 16,000 looms and 329,000 spindles; while the producing capacity of the mills has nearly doubled during the last ten years, the exports of manufactured jute to-day being of the total value of 5½ millions sterling, while raw jute is exported to the value of 6½ millions. In her jute industry India occupies almost a unique position; she is to all intents a monopolist, and so, in spite of the speculative character of the crop, owing to the constant demand and an increasing consumption in the Indian jute-mills, the trade may justly be considered to be one of the most flourishing branches of Indian commerce. But here again a reservation must be made: the mills are working at a low profit, and that means that the opening for new capital is small. Should, however, any preferential tariff scheme ever come into operation, then India's monopoly would be of paramount importance, and it is not difficult to imagine instances where she would reap considerable benefits if she were able to arm herself against foreign duties.

With regard to TEA, one can safely say that the growth of that market is one of the phenomena of commercial history. Up to 1833 the Honourable East India Company held the monopoly of the tea trade of the Far East, and in that year Captain Jenkins brought to the Directors'

notice the fact that the tea plant was indigenous in Assam. To-day the United Kingdom takes 150,000,000 pounds, supplying the bulk of the rest of her requirements from Ceylon, so that China teas had to all intents been driven from the market, until the raising of the duty in 1900 led to a demand for inferior qualities (such as are rejected as unfit for human consumption in the United States) to fill the "cheap canister." Unfortunately, the tendency to increase the importation of low-grade foreign teas will be greatly stimulated by the wholly unjustifiable further enhancement of the tea duty to double the rate levied prior to the Boer War. Complete statistics of areas of cultivation and yield are difficult to obtain, and one is simply astounded at the lack of enterprise and business knowledge displayed in advancing the facts connected with this great industry. A return of forty-five of the leading companies shows a share and debenture capital invested of nearly £10,000,000 sterling, with a total cultivation area of some 191,000 acres, and an average yield of 400 pounds. The profit on the total capital invested amounts to 4.14 per cent. of the paid-up capital of the tea companies, and more than 87 per cent. belongs to those registered in London. The number of persons employed in the industry in 1901 was, roughly speaking, 600,000 permanently and 90,000 temporarily.

Of RICE it is unnecessary to give any details beyond the fact that in ordinary years an export trade exceeding 35,000,000 cwt. may be expected, about two-thirds coming from Burmah.

At the word INDIGO a gloomy picture must pass before most of us. Personally, I am bound to confess that the future seems to bear with it many germs of hope. One of the chief reasons which enabled synthetic indigo to oust the natural dye was the fact that in purchasing the latter a colour standard was not kept, and the commodity was full of foreign matter—that was the planters' fault, and it can be remedied. The fact remains that many manufacturers to-day will use only the natural dye, for though it is said that synthetic indigo possesses in fact all the



actual chemical constituents of the natural, yet the fact also remains that the latter owns qualities which somehow cannot be copied. It is for the planters to ascertain how far the competition from synthetic indigo manufacturers can be pushed, and it is not altogether inconceivable that it will be found that the limit of the rate-cutting will be reached before the margin of profit of the cultivation of the natural dye has been passed. The point to be remembered is that the price of synthetic indigo does not fluctuate, while in India planters—at all events in the past—have been rather too ready to take advantage of enhanced prices arising out of shortage of crop in any given season. If they will only adopt a policy of averaging out prices, making up their minds as to the lowest figure at which they can sell over a given period without loss on the total of the crops, then it would not be surprising if they were to find their market once again widening out for them. In a letter sent to the Governor-General in Council dated April 11, 1775, the Court of Directors wrote: "We are of opinion, if proper care is taken, that indigo may become a beneficial article of our commerce." The rise was rapid enough, and in 1893-1894 there were over 1,000,000 acres under cultivation, yielding 179,000 cwt., exporting 131,000 cwt. In 1901-1902 the acreage had fallen to 800,000 acres, with a yield of 121,000 cwt., exporting 89,000 cwt., with a proportionate decrease in value; and last year the exports fell to 65,000 cwt., showing a decline of over 27 per cent. in quantity exported, and a fall of nearly 35 per cent. in value. In the returns for 1901 the number of factories was 898, mostly small concerns. In the United Provinces there were also some 3,000 vats, while in Madras the total number of persons employed was 173,000.

Concerning OPIUM, SALT, and TIMBER, I purpose offering no detailed remarks. The first is an industry of special character, and one which has given rise to much angry criticism on the part of those who cannot see eye to eye with the Government of India in allowing the State to

possess a monopoly in the sale of what many consider a noxious drug. Salt, again, is practically a Government monopoly, and seeing how essential is its use in tropical climates, I presume that no one would do other than wish that the reduction in the salt duty which was found to be feasible last year may be carried further in future Budgets.

Timber, too, is a State monopoly, and the systematic conservancy of the Indian forests received a great impetus from the passing of the Forest Law in 1878. In 1894 the Government of India stated that the sole object with which State forests are administered is the public benefit. No one doubts this, but perhaps it is allowable to inquire whether or not the best value is received by Government under the system of sales now in vogue. It seems to many that the timber trade is not being fostered as it should, and that goods ought to be put to public offer. If this were done, and if additional areas were opened up for private exploitation and enterprise, a wider market must result.

That is the tally of the major industries. As we have seen, there is nothing phenomenal to record except, perhaps, the growth of the market in tea—the industries increase, but their financial position is somewhat frail. All things considered, however, the position is not unsound, and what success has been won is due to the natural resources of India, a stable and good government, and the enterprise of British merchants.

#### MINOR INDUSTRIES.

I now pass on to the so-called minor industries, taking them haphazard, and not alluding to them as minor because of their dividend-earning capabilities, but because they are less heard of in England, and it is from an English standpoint that I am speaking.

I will take WHEAT first, owing to the somewhat singular position it occupies to-day. The crop is chiefly grown in the Punjab, the United Provinces, and the Central Provinces, and the yield has been specially affected by the

famines. The best Indian wheat commands a ready market in England; it possesses many valuable milling qualities, and the returns for the last year show the remarkable fact that the exports from India to the United Kingdom topped those of Canada. No article of Indian trade, however, has experienced greater vicissitudes. In 1881-1882 the value of the wheat exported was £5,647,000, in 1891-1892, an exceptional year, it rose to £9,000,000, while for the ten years ending 1902 the value of the exports averaged only £2,548,000, the influence of famine on the area and yield of the wheat crops being, of course, the main determining factor. But it remains that, as cultivated to-day, it may, in admittedly exceptional circumstances, prove an awkward rival to Canada in her efforts to make herself the granary of the Empire, and it would seem well worth the attention of capitalists to endeavour to remove the causes of a fluctuating yield.

In HIDES and SKINS we find another industry offering scope for lucrative investment. For the last ten years, owing to excessive cattle mortality during the famines, exports increased, but latterly trade has practically been limited to untanned skins, the American process of tanning having absolutely superseded the imperfect native methods. Now tanning is a very promising industry in India, and the export trade in hides and skins totals out at some six millions sterling per annum. Tanning substances and labour are, it is true, somewhat scarce just now, but that is an incident; everything is neutralized by absence of capital. The industry is a paying one if worked on sound lines, as witness the success of the tanning factories of Cawnpore, but to-day there is a danger of the industry becoming practically a State monopoly, for local manufacturers are handicapped by Government competition, especially in the labour market. There is a call for private capital, and what America can do with the chrome process, India can surely copy.

The Director-General of Statistics classes the SILK industry as non-progressive, and rightly so, for whereas in

1882 there were 122 silk filatures, in 1901 they dwindled down to 71. With whom does the fault lie? The Hungarian Government fostered the industry there, and by confining the tests to private persons, according them full liberty of action, assuring them of constant moral support, and placing at their disposal, free of interest, the necessary funds, immense progress has been made; and the same can be done for India. The Indian silk sent to London in 1896 by the State sold well. The silk-weavers of India possess the highest skill in their craft. Silkworm rearing can undoubtedly be carried on in Cashmere. What is required is competent and energetic management, plus capital.

The COAL industry also comes under the classification of what Lord George Hamilton, in the last Budget speech delivered by him, referred to as "subsidiary industrial employments," but the number of persons employed in the coal-mines amounted to nearly 100,000 in 1901. The industry has existed for only sixty years, and for practically the first forty no real progress was made; but with the construction of mills and factories around Calcutta a rapid change was effected, and to-day the Chief Inspector of Mines, in his report, states that in twenty-one years the consumption has been nearly quadrupled. The output shows a five-fold and the exports nearly a ten-fold advance, while the imports have been halved. The total production for the last fourteen years ranged from 2,000,000 tons in 1892 to nearly 7,000,000 tons ten years later. These figures are small enough when compared with the 219,000,000 tons produced in the United Kingdom; but it must be remembered that the consumption of coal in India for domestic purposes is of the smallest—the supplies, in fact, are used almost entirely for shipping, railways, and factories. To-day the mines are worked with a minimum profit; but the value of Indian coal lies chiefly in the fact that on it depends the future of Indian industries, and given factories in every district, the mine-owners will cease to talk of throat-cutting competition. But he will have to guard against dumping his rubbish when a scarcity in

Europe makes a call for foreign coal imperative. This action on the part of certain owners in the past brought Indian coal into considerable disrepute, and it also did much to influence the lowering of price now ruling throughout Bengal.

Indian IRON and STEEL have loomed somewhat largely lately, owing to the attempts made by Mr. Tata and others in their exploitation. Considering India as a whole, there are undoubted possibilities of a considerable growth in these industries; but if there is any one business which requires large capital it is that of iron, for it is only on an enormous output that profits can be earned. At present the production of iron ore has grown from 33,000 tons in 1891 to 81,000 tons in 1902.

The normal area under SUGAR is about 3,000,000 acres. A large share of the product is consumed in the form of unrefined sugar, and the market in this preparation is independent practically of foreign competition. As is well known, the manufacture of sugar on modern lines has been started in Bengal, certain indigo land having been placed under cane, and it has been proved that it can be produced in India successfully and profitably to compete with imported sugar and that of native production; but the industry is young, and large capital is required. On the other hand, there are over 300,000,000 people to whom sugar is a daily necessity, and, as I have said, foreign competition need not be considered. In the sugar industry there is elbow-room for all, and especially for the capitalist.

The cultivation of TOBACCO in India is so extensive and general that at first sight it is difficult to see an opening for further capital. But the preparation of the leaf is far from satisfactory, and the fact that to-day the value of the tobacco imported into India totals at £300,000, of which £150,000 is in respect of cigarettes, speaks for itself. There are in India now over twenty-four factories, and the total quantity exported amounted during 1901-1902 to over 20,000,000 pounds, of the value of nearly a quarter of a million sterling. Better machinery and

better cultivation are the desiderata, and when some more of the 5,000,000 acres of tobacco-growing land come under that cultivation, India's people may cease to smoke imported cigarettes.

OIL SEEDS undoubtedly should have been ranked among the greater industries. The crop figures largely in the returns, and the exports amount to over eleven million sterling. The chief foreign markets for the linseed, rape, mustard, sesamum, and vegetable oils are France, United Kingdom, Germany, and Belgium; and, speaking generally, a good crop may be said always to be followed by an extensive market. But last year, though the exports increased, prices fell, and particularly in the case of linseed, which met with heavy competition from La Plata and other producing centres.

The export value of COTTON-SEED is great, and presumably the raw material is not taken as ballast. In the United States of America capital is being got together for the installation of crushing-mills, and a permanent industry is anticipated, the oil being used in the manufacture of compound lard, soap, paints, and varnishes. Now, why should this raw material leave India? The answer is always the same: There is no capital to work the mills on sufficiently large lines, and therefore lucratively.

COFFEE appears to be a declining industry, the cheap Brazilian article having flooded the market; but neither cultivator or manufacturer take any steps to advertise the Indian product, and that probably goes a long way towards accounting for the fall. In British India there are some 133,000 acres under cultivation. In 1901 the United Kingdom took 43 per cent. of the exports, France, 37 per cent., and a recent agreement with that latter country has secured to native product imported into France the benefits of a minimum tariff. The number of persons employed in 1901 is returned at 37,000 permanently and the same number temporarily.

The great PETROLEUM fields of the Indian Empire are in Burmah. Here again, as in the case of coal, most of the

development has occurred in quite recent years; but the demand of India has been far larger than the supply. The production in 1892 in Burmah was 8,000,000 gallons, and in 1903 it has risen to 55,000,000 gallons, India proper contributing only 600 gallons. The imports in 1870 were worth £40,000, and in 1880 £360,000; in 1890 £1,500,000; in 1901 they had risen to £2,300,000, and to £2,500,000 in 1902, the number of gallons imported being 91,000,000. A regular service of steamers carrying oil in bulk from Rangoon to Calcutta was started in 1900. Very little Burmah oil is exported to foreign countries, but paraffin wax manufactured in Burmah in 1902 was sent out of the country to the extent of 2,700 tons. The total oil-bearing area in Burmah is ascertained at 240 square miles. Certain hampering restrictions regarding petroleum imported into India have been removed, and Burmah is now given power to export this spirit under the usual conditions respecting dangerous cargo to the coast ports of India. Assuming certainty of supply, the value of the oil-fields of India should be immense, and the industry is in its infancy. What is wanting is improved quality; but it is believed that the lower strata will produce the lighter oil.

The Indian GOLD-MINING companies are not unknown to the investing public, and recently one particular reef has won a certain amount of notoriety. But the work done in the gold-mines of India is comparatively trifling, and, though a new Rand possibly will not be discovered in the peninsula, there are gold-bearing areas yet awaiting development. Putting aside slate, gold, petroleum and coal, India has OTHER MINING resources in the ruby mines, manganese deposits, mica mines, and the tin ore and jade of Burmah; and of these, perhaps the future of MICA is the most interesting to study. This mineral has long been obtained in Bengal, and the ruby-coloured variety is held in great esteem. The out-turn in India has grown from 120 tons in 1891 to 1,100 tons in 1901. The value of the 815 tons of mica exported in 1901 was £70,000. The

demand for the mineral in India is considerable, and, if arrangements can be made whereby some concentration of interests can be effected and the work carried out under proper control, it will not need excessive capital to place the trade on a thoroughly paying basis. The competition of German buyers could be checked, and the rivalry from Canada, and that which is likely to spring up from Brazil, could be met, and the whole market, both English and foreign, secured. The mineral is a necessity; the demand for it is great; it is to all intents incapable of being imitated; but purchasers will have to bear in mind the difficulty which has to be faced, owing to the somewhat irrational mining methods in vogue in certain districts.

The shipments of MANGANESE ore from India in 1901-1902 amounted to 100,000 tons, most of which came to Great Britain. The ore is found on the Madras coast, but there are valuable deposits in the Central Provinces, and Burmah also is believed to possess the mineral.

TIN is found in the districts of Lower Burmah, but the mining of it is a Chinese and an unprogressive industry, the output being quite contemptible. In 1900 attention was drawn to the tin produced in one of the Southern Shan States, which was found to be of good quality, and it was hoped that the deposits are more extensive than has hitherto been known.

Of RUBIES little need be said. They are worked in Burmah by the Ruby Mining Company and by licensed natives. The value extracted has increased rapidly, and the company, with the aid of favourable treatment from Government, has become prosperous. In 1894 the returns were valued at £450, while in 1901 the total value of gems extracted, including sapphires and spinels, was £104,000.

Of PAPER-MILLS there are nine in operation in India, two being private concerns. In Bombay the capital invested is about half a million. Most of the white and blue foolscap, and much of the blotting-paper, notepaper and envelopes used in Government offices, are now obtained from the



Indian mills, the total quantity turned out in 1902 being 47,000,000 pounds. The mills employ 4,000 hands, the capital locked up in them has been trebled since 1883, and the number of persons engaged has increased six-fold. In recent years there has been a depreciation in the paper-making industry in Bengal, owing to the importation of large quantities of wood-pulp made paper, and the attention of Government might well be turned to this matter. The production of wood-pulp could be undoubtedly carried on profitably, assuming that water-power and water-carriage are at hand ; and once such a mill were started (and Government would look to private enterprise to assist), other industries arising out of timber (such as furniture-making) would certainly spring into existence, and demand capital support.

Such are the minor industries. As I have said, they have been taken haphazard, and some of them are certainly given a quasi-prominent place because they happen to figure from time to time in Government Reports. Many of them only differ from the major industries in that, while the latter to-day in many instances hardly call for more capital, the greater number of the minor industries only require a monetary stimulus to enable them to take a commanding position in the markets of the world.

#### UNEXPLOITED OR FORGOTTEN INDUSTRIES.

Before endeavouring to sum up, I would ask to be allowed to indicate certain unexploited or forgotten industries which, I think, may be found capable of bearing the attention of capital, and which go towards the making up of India's latent wealth. The list is in no way complete, and I merely, as it were, take a handful of pearls and ask you whether or not they are worthy to be strung together on the golden cord of capital, to find a place in the necklace of the nation. Take them as they fall through your fingers.

The manufacture of PERFUMES in India dates back to the earliest ages, but the Indian perfumer is far behind

his Western brother in the method of preparing his scents. When once new ways are adopted the perfume industry of India will become one of the most important of the country. The many hundreds of scent-yielding plants only await the manufacturer, and a money-making business is within the reach of any enterprising firm.

The Indian waters teem with good eating fish, but it requires capital and concerted action to bring them to market and obtain a sale for them. The attempts to establish DEEP-SEA FISHERIES have failed in the past, but if the records are searched, the reasons will not be found far to seek. The wealth lying hidden in the Indian seas is incalculable.

FIBRES generally (apart from jute and cotton and such kinds) are a matter of great importance, owing to the enormous number which are to be found in India, and which might be utilized to the advancement of the commercial prosperity of the country. If the lesser-known fibres, such as rhea (which can be grown readily in Assam, and the cultivation of which is being energetically pushed in Rhodesia and other colonies), or aloe (which would prove equal to manilla for ship's ropes and cables), and many others too numerous to mention, only received adequate support, undoubtedly trade would spring up and would grow to great dimensions if the latest methods and scientific machinery were adopted.

VEGETABLES and FRUIT, too, seem to offer a field for new enterprise. The Bombay plantains are notable for their sweetness, and would be most highly acceptable to the people of England, and the same remark would also apply to mangoes. With the improvements effected in cold storage, there is now no difficulty in shipping from Bombay.

In RUBBER, the opening for the manufacture and cultivation is large, but here again better methods must be adopted before any real market can be found. The natives are careless in the preparation, allowing a great deal of dirt

to get into the raw material, and that is absolutely ruinous to trade.

In DRUGS, America has lately been attempting to capture the market, and it seems that there is a possibility of lucrative employment of capital in India itself in the manufacture of drugs. For instance, the problem of disposing of tea-dust would be solved if the manufacture of caffeine were taken up. Every year the quantity used increases. In America the demand grows by leaps and bounds, and there is no reason why a well-equipped factory situated in the hill districts, making quinine and caffeine, should not pay. *India, in fact, should see to her by-products.*

It is time, too, that the manufacture of GLASS in India, once so flourishing an industry, should receive attention and encouragement. It is true that the demand in the districts is small, for the natives have not yet been educated into the necessity for glazing their windows ; but, as industries grow, luxuries will be sought, and it is certain that if capital is forthcoming the increased manufacture of glass can be carried out with success.

The SEA-WEEDS of the southern waters have long proved a source of wealth, but it would not appear as if the subject had yet been deemed worthy of any commercial encouragement in India. Many algæ abound in gelatinous matter, and can be obtained in the seas off the coast of India. The Ceylon moss is one. The agal-agal yields the jelly or glue which makes the transparent covering of the lattice-work of Chinese lanterns, and forms an excellent paste, as it is not liable to be eaten by insects ; while another species is used for stiffening silks.

Many of us, again, know the cups and plates made and polished and wrought in so-called CAMBAY STONES from the green of the bloodstone, the flame-like streaks mingled with clouded crystalline of the moss agate, the red and yellow cornelian, the darker onyx, the veined agate, the chocolate stone, and the crystal. The stones, though brought to the

ultimate perfection of their finish at Cambay, are conveyed there in their rough state from different parts of Gujerat, and are made up by local lapidaries. It is fair to assume that if this business were carried on on modern lines a sensation might well be created in European markets.

#### GENERAL SURVEY.

These are only a few of the unexploited industries, and no space can be found here for the mention of brass and metal work, wood-carving, enamels, and other local trades. In any event, can any other portion of the Empire show such latent wealth, and can anyone doubt that in India is to be found our greatest commercial asset? But the winning of the wealth—there comes the rub. In the major industries—those which have not necessarily reached the limits of their development, but, at all events, have attained to permanency—security of tenure is practically assured. As all industries must, they, too, will have their fluctuations; but, be they cotton or tea, rice or jute, the question of the future is not what will happen to them, not how much capital is required to develop them, but how far will they progress, and what position will they win, or be permitted to win, among the other self-supporting nations which go to make up our Empire. The success achieved has not been phenomenal, and what has been done merely goes to prove that British private enterprise, even with a minimum of State support, has in the past been able to more than hold its own against all rivals. But to-day the British merchant has a far different outlook: his competitors are pressing him hard, and, though the greater industries of India have a seat in the sun, the minor ones find themselves struggling through an opposition which the earlier and more favoured never had to meet. It is unnecessary to place one's finger on any particular trade, for wherever you look, on no side is a rival-free market to be found. And what is true of the major and minor industries must also obtain for the unexploited sources of wealth.

How is it that with all these facts in her favour capital is not attracted towards India? Doubtless fashion has something to do with it. The industries of India have never been "boomed"; she has never been admitted into the confidence of the Stock Exchange; her securities, generally speaking, are not quoted in official lists, and, accordingly, there is not daily brought before the eyes of the investing public a sight of those insisting columns of figures marked with either a plus or a minus sign, which do so much to advertise the industries of the countries to which they relate. *India lacks advertisement.*

The average Englishman who goes towards the making up of the investing public knows very little about India, and believes that plague and famine are the dominating features of the country, and when he lands, let us say, in Bombay for the first time, he is quite annoyed, doubtless, that the first object which meets his eyes is not a native clad in a cotton loin-cloth sitting under a palm-tree. Travel, of course, will open his eyes, but the bulk of investors upon whose subscriptions the life of limited liability concerns depends (*and I plead for the exploitation of Indian industries by joint-stock enterprise*) are home-dwellers, who still look upon such Indian princes as visit us from time to time as cut out from the pages of the "Arabian Nights," and to be treated, when they come east of Temple Bar, merely as cultivators of the pagoda-tree. No thought of India's commercial possibilities is bred of these visits, and though, when an industry is once established, money flows in fairly freely, yet such efforts are spasmodic, and are even apt to be a hindrance to Indian enterprises, for a single failure (such as the decay of the indigo business) brings contamination to the fountain-head. And as part of, and yet in addition to, this feeling there is another factor at work. The investors who do know a little of India, or who may have read a little, have a general idea that the population is singularly conservative, that caste has built up a wall against all new enterprise, and, accordingly, that there is

no room for capital. In this view, of course, there is a considerable modicum of truth. The population of India, speaking generally, has only within recent years begun to emerge from the condition of agricultural dependence, and that entirely owing to the fact that British rule has brought domestic security to the inhabitants of the villages. In the centuries before England's power became paramount there was, in a sense, no national life. The system of village communities, coupled with caste, each little group living behind its own walls, and in no sense interdependent with, or on, its neighbours, brought about a crystallized specialization on the one side, and on the other an absolute subservience to foreign conquest. The rulers, at the time of invasion, gave no heed to the wants of the villagers, who made their own terms, or were harried or swept away as the case might be ; while in times of peace it was not to their princes that the villagers turned either for help in famine or in any domestic disturbance. To all intents and purposes the clan life was self-supporting, the local fields were tilled for local wants, and the industries grew rigid in a self-centred caste. But with the coming of the British raj the crystal began to break up, and so we find such a ruler as the Gaekwar of Baroda, when addressing an assemblage of Indian gentlemen at the opening of an industrial exhibition, giving utterance to these remarkable words :

"You, gentlemen, are the leaders of India, and if you fall she falls. Let each of you make up his mind that he will live by what his reason tells him is right, no matter whether it be opposed or approved by any sage custom or tradition. Think, and then act at once. Enough time has been wasted waiting for time to solve our problems."

And he went on :

"The true policy is to encourage and assist the commercial development of the country, and so put it on the only possible road to progress, opulence, and prosperity."

Yes, says the investor, the awakening may be near at hand, and when once India's teeming millions are educated into wants, possibly the greatest market the world has ever

known will have been created. But that is a dream born of a slow awakening, and it is for us to scrutinize things with cold eyes, and to see if the market is worth the winning. And even supposing that they overcome this prejudice, they are still headed off, for when they ask what capital is coming from the natives of India themselves, and are told that there is practically none, it is not difficult to understand why the stream of their subscription is diverted to other portions of the Empire. These are matters which concern the smaller members of the investing public, members who are always ready to subscribe to a sound proposition, whose subscriptions, in fact, make the success of most modern flotations.

#### OBSTACLES TO JOINT STOCK ENTERPRISE.

But what of the capitalist? He has doubtless looked into things, and doubtless knows full well, though he may not be conversant with the details of the potentialities of Indian industries, that with life and property secure, with improving communications, with cheap labour, and with the fixation of exchange banishing the fluctuating standard of value, the industries of India must one day flourish and absorb his capital. But he holds back. He knows that local markets for manufactured articles are small, that the native's wants are of the simplest, that he requires practically no comforts or conveniences, simple clothing, and the most meagre food :—these facts would not deter him ; they are mere incidents in a financial campaign. But still he holds back. There are two main reasons which possibly check him : (1) *The apathy of the general investing public*—for millionaires, after all, are merely dealers, and are as dependent as any other merchant on a ready market for a sale of their wares ; and (2) the suspicion that business enterprise in India has apparently sometimes suffered from misdirected Government help. As to public apathy, the fact is so patent that it is unnecessary to support it by any attempts at proof. But supposing that you had two

propositions of exactly equal worth which you wished to offer for subscription through the ordinary channels, one Indian and the other not. Do you imagine that a company promoter would be willing to do the work at the same remuneration in each case? Certainly not. The Indian proposition, if it were taken at all, would be charged double that of any other, for the promoter would know his public. And the capitalist looks upon the promoter as the weather-gauge of investment popularity.

And as to the second reason, *Indian official methods are unpopular in the City of London.* Let us first see what India's own rulers think of the methods of government. I will only give two quotations, one from the late Sir Bartle Frere and the other from Lord Curzon. Said Sir Bartle Frere :

"I can imagine none worse than an overworked Viceroy and irresponsible secretaries governing in his name. I believe the only remedy lies in a course the exact reverse of this—namely, to make the local government and administration as strong and complete as possible, so that the Governor-General may govern through them, and may have time to attend to really Imperial questions, and on them be able to insure obedience to his orders. My object would be to make the Viceroy really supreme, and to have a real concentrative authority. This, I believe, is to be attained by governing an Empire as an admiral governs a fleet, by having absolute authority over every ship through captains each of whom is absolute in his own ship. The present system makes every head of a department in the ship look not to the captain, but to the admiral, for orders in his own special department. The master, the purser, the gunnery lieutenant, the chaplain, all go direct to the admiral instead of to the captain, who thus loses all real power of command. The admiral is overworked; he may think he commands the fleet, but the fact is the fleet is not governed at all. The tendency to meddle is almost universal in men trained in a departmental secretariat, and irresistible by those who are invested with authority nearly absolute."

While Lord Curzon sums up the situation with the remark :

"I do not hesitate to say that we are trying to run this Empire with a staff that would be considered inadequate in a second-class European kingdom. We are required to be up-to-date, to know everything about agriculture, commerce, emigration, labour, shipping, customs, the applica-



tion of science to every form of production, the secret of coal, iron, steel, salt, ore, tin, cotton, indigo and jute, and the fact is that we have not expanded to the needs of the new situation."

Many years separated these two utterances, and through all that period the dry rot has been at work. And the industries and commerce of India have been the chief sufferers, for it must frequently rest with an official to make or mar any new project. Officials as a rule dislike all trade and commercial questions; the discussion of them compels the breathing of a novel atmosphere, and to put it plainly, their opinion of the ordinary capitalist, and much more of the financial agent, is low. And joined to this, the very position of the Indian official, even assuming that he was not overworked, and that his interests prompted him towards things commercial, militates against the likelihood of his treating the subject any other wise than perfunctorily. His term of office is, after all, a short one, his pensioned-off days grow nearer, and, if he is possessed of only ordinary human nature, there is bound to be a certain involuntary and automatic shirking of responsibility. To state that the body of gentlemen who go to make up the Indian Civil Service are, so far as their personal honour and integrity are concerned, second to none, is merely the enunciation of the obvious. But they themselves would be the first to admit that they have no commercial training and no commercial habits, and my point is that, to hand over to them the future of any Indian industry, however small, is wantonly courting danger. And yet, unless the capitalist can be induced to come forward and endeavour to exploit Indian industries on their merits without any aid from the State, Government aid must be anticipated, for it must be invoked. Unfortunately, among the members of the investing public State aid and State interference are apt to be regarded as synonymous terms. If this feeling of suspicion could only be removed, and if Government would come forward with some definite proposal whereby they would assist in the exploitation of various nascent

industries, capital undoubtedly would be attracted. In this paper I do not propose to put forward any particular scheme, for my object is merely to lay before possible investors what is practically a new field for their enterprise. But if Government could be induced to help either by guaranteeing interest on capital or advancing capital, or by giving preferential treatment, or by becoming themselves, within limits, promoters of new ventures, an impetus would assuredly be given towards the popularizing of Indian investments. Meanwhile, the capitalist holds aloof. And even assuming that he sees a way through the difficulties which his suspicions rightly or wrongly have built round him, there is yet another cause which has made him dally so long. From whom is he to get any information? Why, from that very class with whom he fears to be forced into dealing in India. Attend any Anglo-Indian function in England, and whom do you meet? For my own part, some of the kindest friends whom it has been any man's good fortune to win; but 99 per cent. of them have held official positions in India, and it is only because they have retired that they have the leisure to attend when Indian matters are being discussed, and they never seem to bring their friends with them. They do not represent Indian commercial life; the Indian merchantman is scarcely in evidence, and the Englishman, whose money you want and must have, is only conspicuous by his absence.

If I have stated my proposition aright some few reasons, at all events, will have been laid before you to show that capital can be invested lucratively in India, while some suggestions have been made as to how it has come about that the financiers hitherto have fought shy of the Dependency.

#### THE WAY OUT.

We will now consider how these factors so operating against the inflow of capital can be removed. We can thrust on one side that most foolish and dangerous argument that

the country would be impoverished by foreign capital ; it is contrary to all the canons of economic science, and, if acted upon, would only retard the development of those very objects which those who put forward their fallacy assert that they have in view. The capitalist's requirements are certainly twofold : (1) He must be educated into the idea that India is worthy of his favours ; and (2) he must be assured that the disabilities from which, in his opinion, apparently, she is suffering to-day have been removed.

As to the first, such a result can only be brought about by making Indian affairs, as it were, an everyday breakfast-table topic, for, once the imagination of the British public becomes inflamed, by its own sheer weight it will drive the capitalist into action. But how is this propaganda to be initiated ? I can only suggest. *A new body of merchant-adventurers must be brought into being*, men knowing India and her capabilities, possessed of sound knowledge, and with capital sufficient to bring into lucrative prominence one or two or even, say, three of the latent sources of wealth indicated above. Given care, success is assured, and once this has been brought about, India's popularity as a field for investment is certain. One such syndicate, of course, is not sufficient—I should be happy to see a dozen brought into life. But let each syndicate have proper financial strength behind it. You cannot exploit India and her industries with a mere £100,000. And I advocate separate syndicates in lieu of a huge combined capital merely because it seems essential that possibility of loss should be made not only as remote, but as decentralized, as can be. Any failure would do harm to India, but the crash of an American-engineered Trust would for years spell ruin to all future hopes. Moreover, one Trust can never hope to deal with all India. On the other hand, given the success of a single syndicate and your work is done. The risks attending pioneer enterprise are great, and the capital and time required to attain success are almost invariably under-

estimated. If the work can only be carried out according to schedule, enormous profits are the result. Swollen dividends, however, presuppose enhanced risks. Much money, I fear, has been lost in India in the past in the exploration work ; but I believe that it will be found that in nearly every instance failure has been brought about, not through any inherent weakness in the original idea, but merely because the undertaking was beyond the financial strength of those associated with it. The capital was in few hands, it failed at the critical moment, and there was nobody of shareholders upon whom to fall back. But, assuming that the syndicates have been brought into being, and that each has its financial head and board of really expert advisers, the disabilities existing on the Indian side have to be removed. Means must be found whereby the English capitalist also, who will be investing his money in India (for I have in mind that all these new companies should be regarded as Indian concerns, spending their money in India, and merely having an English agency), can be put in touch with someone capable of dealing with commercial matters. Lord Curzon's scheme for the creation of a new department of the Government of India for Commerce and Industry, and the appointment of a new Member of Council for these purposes in place of the originally proposed Commercial Intelligence Bureau, is a necessity, but it has elements of danger unless the new Minister is a man commanding the confidence of the mercantile community. He must have had long experience, possess business ability, tact, and be discreet in the use of information obtained from outside sources ; his pay must be commensurate with his duties ; and, above all, he must not be a departmentalist. Given popularity and the knowledge that Government is working on business lines to carry Indian industries to success, and foreign capital will flow steadily towards the peninsula. Not that capital can do everything. What made Canada ? Was it the Hudson Bay Company or her minerals, her fruit-orchards, or her wheat ?

Was it not rather Sir Wilfrid Laurier's silvery voice? What made South Africa? The gold and diamond fields? Was it not the fruitful dreaming of Cecil Rhodes? It is the personal element which is the final factor. But if India's time has come the man will come with it; and if time is tarrying, all here can help to draw in the strings of the future. All can help. Development proceeds apace: the railways spread their network over the land; the ryot, whose very conservatism has given him the inherited knowledge of centuries, and has placed him, within the limitations of his environment, among the world's greatest agriculturists, is being forced from his isolation—and India prospers. But haste must be avoided, for the native labourer to-day is but slowly emerging into the industrial state; his interests are still in the fields, and he hates the restrictions of the mills. And so, in order to teach him the benefits arising out of industries, those which are based on agriculture must first be developed, the local raw products must be worked up. And as these grow, new ports and harbours, fed by the railways which tap the new productive centres, will spring into being, shipping will increase, and, for all we know, arts and handicrafts forgotten to-day will draw life from enlightenment, and give to the world a new Renaissance. But the critics say the time has not yet come, and it is night, and India sleeps, and the briar-roses so cluster round the fairy palace that no man dare enter for the thorns. So be it. But the dawn is reddening in the East, and if roses bear thorns, thorns, too, have their roses; and when the centuries of slumber have reached their predestined end, the Prince will come to force his way through the thicket and wake and win the Sleeping Beauty.

## THE ENHANCED DUTIES ON INDIAN TEA AND TOBACCO.

BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, K.C.I.E.

It is a curious fact—and infinitely disappointing to many old Anglo-Indians like myself, who can look back to better things—that so far, of all the great divisions of the British Empire, India is the one that has manifested the least enthusiasm for the Imperial idea, and has shown the most huckstering spirit, in discussing Mr. Chamberlain's great plan of Imperial Fiscal Unification. When I say "India," of course I mean the India that can make itself heard in England; and that is simply (1) the Government of India, and (2) the Anglo-Indian Press (or some five or six members thereof) in its editorial and especially in its correspondence columns. Many of the *sô-disant* Free Trade correspondents of the *Pioneer* and other great Anglo-Indian papers are obviously mere babes and sucklings, alike in politics and in economics—a fact which is in itself surprising and disappointing to anyone who has any personal acquaintance with the high intellectual calibre of the bulk of their readers among the civilians, the merchants, and the planters of India. Their lucubrations are probably inserted by the respective editors often with the amiable object of making sport for these very readers. But that is not understood in England, where such letters as those of the pseudonymous "Scrutator"—I name this garrulous correspondent, not because his letters are more foolish than many of the others, but to avoid personality—are supposed to give the views of some well-educated Indian civilians or men of business. Hence, to the great regret of many of us, the idea is getting abroad that these influential classes in India are opposed to preferential trading within the Empire, and wish to see England and India taxing each other's goods on pure Free Trade principles—that is, on the assumption that they have no more concern in each other's trade interests than they have

in those of Russians or Germans or any other foreigners. I believe the idea to be utterly false, and that the majority of Indian civilians, as well as of Indian merchants and planters, are really and thoroughly Imperialist. Indeed, I may say I know as a fact that many of them are earnest disciples of the national theory of fiscal economics, as taught by List—and adopted throughout the civilized world except in England—rather than of the cosmopolitan theory, taught by Ricardo, Mill, and Bastiat, but practised only in England. But it must be admitted that up to now they have allowed most of the shouting to be done on the other side; and so they cannot be surprised if people in England think that India will prefer an Anti-Protective or Anti-Preferential Budget, such as that which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been compelled to adopt this year, rather than one that would give a preference to Indian tea, or Indian tobacco, or other Indian products.

I say that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has been “compelled,” this year, to impose on us this Anti-Preferential Budget; and an examination of the alternatives will show conclusively that this is so. And, indeed, I suppose that no one, not even a Free Fooder, is so foolish as to suppose that Mr. Austen Chamberlain, of all people in the world—for the Chancellor has never made any secret of his warm sympathy with his father’s patriotic policy—would adopt such a Budget as this, with its inter-Imperial tariff-war, except on the direst compulsion. As a loyal member of Mr. Balfour’s Government, it was impossible for him to propose anything savouring of Protection or Preference. Having put up the income tax to a shilling in the pound in peace time, no one but an extreme Socialist or an anti-thrift politician would dream of putting it any higher. And an examination of the other alternatives that have been suggested proves to demonstration that each one of them is absolutely barred by one or other of these considerations.

For what would the Cobden Club say to such a sugges-

tion as that of the Indian and Ceylon Tea Associations in their letter to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, dated March 3, 1904? These gentlemen therein declared that they did not ask for "fiscal protection," but for "the exclusion from this country of tea rejected by the Customs authorities in other countries, and the enactment of standards of quality"! Obviously a most excellent and reasonable demand from the point of view of the growers of the high-class Indian and Ceylon teas; but how about the Chinese growers of the very low-grade and cheap teas? They would naturally denounce such a measure as "fiscal protection" of the high-grade teas, of the most flagrant character, and as gross interference with the sacred freedom of trade. The most rubbishy China tea, hardly worthy of the name at all, is stated to be largely used to blend with the high-class Indian and Ceylon article, in order to produce the cheap "canister tea" and "packet tea" much beloved by the working classes. Probably some of the cheapest canisters could not be sold at the price they are if our fiscal arrangements excluded the rubbish—certainly not unless a preference in the matter of duty were accorded to the higher grades. Common-sense might probably say, "So much the better for the stomachs of the consumers"; but the Free Trader would regard it as Protection doubly accursed, for it would simultaneously protect the stomachs of the consumers and the profits of the Indian and Ceylon growers! Everyone knows with what difficulty the Free Trade pedants were persuaded to allow of some differentiation between margarine and honest farmers' butter, between beer made with glucose and honest malt-and-hops beer, and so forth.

By far the best and most reasonable suggestion for an alternative method of raising the necessary revenue that we now derive from a scandalous duty of 100 per cent. on Indian and Ceylon tea was put forward by my friend Sir M. Bhownaggee in his excellent speech on the subject in the House of Commons. Sir Mancherjee said :



He was prepared to admit that it might fairly be asked how the necessary revenue was to be raised to meet the deficit if this increase upon the tea duty was not adopted. He had always believed that those who complained of an evil would do well to suggest a cure, and he was prepared with an answer to this query. He thought that one way of raising the necessary revenue, either in this or in future years, would be to adopt the economic policy which had been successful in India, and that was, after every source of legitimate and tolerable taxation had been exhausted, to have recourse to the imposition of a revenue duty upon all imports. Of course, such a duty might run the risk of being regarded as a protective duty ; but in India, which had followed the fiscal policy of Great Britain always, and which was dependent for her economic arrangements on the sanction and control of the Imperial Government, this policy had been pursued with success. There a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty had been imposed for the last seven or eight years upon all imports, and he did not see why that policy could not be adopted in this country. It was done in India with our sanction, and there was no vestige of Protection about it. The additional duty of twopence on tea was, after all, a burden on the consumer here, and a very serious addition to the domestic expenses of certain classes of society, which made it extremely unfair in its incidence. Take, for instance, a rich man who buys a house in Park Lane or builds a palace. He furnishes it with marble from Italy and furniture from France, and he does not pay a penny of duty on these articles, whereas a poor man, who must, as a necessary article of food, buy tea, has to pay the additional duty of twopence in every pound.

All this seems to me to be perfectly true and absolutely unanswerable if our fiscal system were arranged with any regard whatever to common-sense. But just imagine the shrieks of all the Free Fooders and all the Free Importers and all the hysterical people who call themselves Free Traders if a British Chancellor of the Exchequer were to announce a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty all round on all imports ! They would simply go mad.

Sir M. Bohnaggee might perhaps remind them that exactly that system was introduced into India in the year 1894 by a Ministry of such undoubted Free Importers as Mr. Gladstone and Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Lord Kimberley and Sir William Harcourt and Sir Henry Fowler. It was also continued and confirmed in 1896 by a Ministry of such excellent Free Fooders as Lord George Hamilton, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Lord Goschen, Mr. Ritchie, and the Duke of Devonshire, though Lord George

Hamilton, in deference to the outcries of Lancashire, reduced the import duty *in the one case of cotton goods* to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and also imposed an iniquitous countervailing excise on Indian cotton goods to the same extent. But no matter. Sir M. Bhownaggee may rest perfectly assured that, now that it is Mr. Chamberlain who has raised the question of consolidating the Empire by preferential tariffs, there is not a single one of the survivors among the Ministers I have named who would not howl loud and long at a general 5 per cent. import duty here in England. It is true that Lord Northbrook in the fiscal debate in the House of Lords last year declared that a mere 5 per cent. *ad valorem* general import duty, such as Mr. Gladstone and Sir Henry Fowler and the Liberals had introduced into the Indian fiscal system, could not reasonably be called protective. But reasonableness has no place in the Free Import and Free Food philosophy. As they said of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's one-shilling duty on corn and as they say of Mr. Chamberlain's proposed two-shilling duty to enable us to protect India from famine, to develop the colonies, and help the British farmer, so they would say of Sir Henry Fowler's 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty all round—that it was protective, and would be increased indefinitely.

So I venture respectfully to suggest to Sir M. Bhownaggee and those who think with him, that while they are about it they may as well "go the whole hog," and frankly accept the preferential tariff at once. It is really the only possible alternative for this system of tariff war between England and India. If Mr. Ritchie had had the good sense to do so at the time when we were quietly and comfortably deriving £2,500,000 a year from Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's one-shilling duty, we should have had none of this cackling of Free Fooders, for colonial preference would have come about naturally and silently, and the Empire would have been welded together before the Little Englanders had had time to marshal the forces of disintegration. It is absolutely certain that, with a system of

Imperial preference, India and Ceylon would supply the tea and nearly all the tobacco of the Empire, not to mention many other products; while the exports to other countries would also rise, by reason of the "power of negotiation" that would be given us by tariff reform. A new era of prosperity would set in for every Indian industry, and also for most British industries, by reason of the immense increase in the trade between Britain and India. And all these brilliant prospects are to be blighted, so the Free Fooders tell us, merely to gratify the obsolete prejudices of a foolish sect, whose dogmas only survive in the sleepy Universities of England and Scotland, and have been laughed out of existence in every other country of the world.

I have no doubt whatever that in the long-run, in India as in England, the antiquated economics of the Free Importers will be relegated to the limbo of exploded notions, like the mercantile theory or the belief in witchcraft. The "law of surplusage" alone, under the modern conditions of production and distribution, and with the amazing discoveries of modern science in the improvement of machinery, is in itself sufficient to force Great Britain ere long, with its vast industrial interests and its teeming millions of workers dependent thereon, to abandon a fiscal system that puts its every industry at the mercy of its commercial rivals. And the emancipation of Indian industry will naturally follow tariff reform at home. But in the meantime the trade of India with Great Britain and the colonies is sustaining, and must sustain, great and irreparable injury, partly by reason of foreign dumping, and partly by the operation of fiscal legislation, such as this imposition of enhanced duties on tea and tobacco. This trade, notwithstanding its marked tendency to decline, or at best to stagnate, is still on such a scale as to be of infinite importance to the material well-being both of India and of Lancashire and other British manufacturing centres. The lucid and exhaustive minute of Sir Edward Law, that was published in the blue-book

containing the despatch of the Government of India on preferential tariffs, clearly established this fact, as well as the other fact, equally important in this connection, that India practically holds an unassailable position in regard to its trade with countries outside the British Empire. Indian trade can be, and sometimes unhappily is, injured by mistaken legislation in the British House of Commons, but has nothing whatever to fear from the hostility of foreign Governments, and, indeed, would be well able, if permitted by the House of Commons, to obtain from foreign countries, by negotiation or retaliation, far more favourable fiscal treatment than is at present accorded. The whole moral of Sir Edward Law's minute is: "Take care of your British Imperial trade; your foreign trade can take care of itself"; and it is incomprehensible that anyone who has the interests of India and of Lancashire at heart should hesitate, after mastering the lessons of that minute, about the absolute and urgent need for an Imperial system of preferential tariffs.

And it seems to me that this is especially the case with regard to the Indian tea and tobacco industries. In foreign ports these important Indian products will always have to contend with high tariffs; and the foreigner everywhere, on the Bismarckian or truly commercial principle of *Do ut des*, will never consent to reduce those tariffs except for substantial concessions in other directions. But with the British Government the case is, or ought to be, very different. In fiscal negotiations between the British and Indian Governments, the commercial principle of mutual benefits must still be the dominant factor, and a set-off for the free admission of Indian tea and tobacco to British ports might well be found in the free admission of Lancashire cotton goods and other British manufactures to Indian ports, accompanied, of course, by the simultaneous abolition of the obnoxious Indian excise duties on Indian cottons. But in addition to this, the Imperial political advantages to be obtained from friendly trade relations between Britain and

India ought surely to count for much, both in London and in Calcutta.

Under our present fiscal system we have the United Kingdom imposing such outrageous import duties on Indian produce that Lord Curzon's Government, if it acts up to the declaration of policy\* contained in Section 21 of its despatch on Preferential Tariffs, will be bound to retaliate by imposing similar duties on British cotton and woollen goods and other manufactures. A tariff war between England and India, as the latest blessing conferred on us by Free Trade!

On the other hand, consider for a moment what would be the results of the adoption of preferential trade between the United Kingdom and India, with the gradual abolition of all existing import duties on both sides. Does any reasonably intelligent person doubt the enormous expansion that would immediately follow in every branch of the trade between India and England? On this let me quote an article in the April number of this *Review*:

"India and England are the complements of each other in their needs: India requires the products of highly-organized scientific industry; England requires raw materials to work up therein, and she also requires food. In precisely similar circumstances, within the eight years that followed the conclusion of the tariff war between Germany and Russia, German imports of Russian foodstuffs increased 210 per cent., while the imports of German manufactures into Russia increased 200 per cent. Would not this, and even more, come to the mutual trade of England and India under preferential tariffs?"

A much smaller increase than 200 per cent. on the British imports of Indian tea would put a very different

\* This is what the despatch says: "All that we seek is that we shall not be pledged in advance to accord equal treatment to the imports of all countries alike, irrespective of whether they penalize our exports or not." Is the British tea duty of over 100 per cent. *ad valorem* "penalizing our exports," or is it not? Of course, the Government of India is not in the least likely to retaliate on Lancashire cotton goods, for sixty very good reasons—the votes of the sixty Lancashire members of Parliament! Yet this is what Lord George Hamilton and the Free Fooders have affected to fear that India might do—in revenge for being given a trade preference in England and the colonies!

aspect on the outlook of that enterprising but ill-used industry.

It is amusing to note how, in all the discussion on these enhanced tea duties, in all the protests that have been addressed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in all the articles that have been written about it, in all the meetings that have been held, it is made perfectly clear that no one really believes the old myth of the Free Importers, that in all such cases it is the consumer who pays the duty. The coffee-house-keepers and restaurant proprietors who interviewed Mr. Chamberlain declared that they would have to pay more to the dealers, but that they could not add one farthing to the charge for a cup of tea. The cheap shilling canisters and the smaller packets of tea will still be charged exactly as before, we are told, even if the blenders have to use more China tea and less Indian tea; whilst the planters and the tea associations declare that it will be all one to them whether they reduce their prices voluntarily in order to keep out the China tea, or whether their prices are reduced by the market as a consequence of less quantities being required by reason of the competition of the cheap China tea. In either case it will be the producer who will have to pay the tax, by having to accept lower prices; for even if the consumer gets an inferior article in the canister for his money at first, the keen competition in the trade will soon relieve him of that necessity.

Our British worship of the fetish of so-called Free Trade has always been a blot on the character of the commercial relations between England and India. The sixty Lancashire members of Parliament, and the members for our other manufacturing districts, are justified, and more than justified, in demanding the abolition of the abominable octroi that we levy in Indian ports on their products—provided that they put it on the honest and truthful ground of our Imperial connection with India, and that they concede a similar free admission of Indian products into the United Kingdom. But when the abolition or reduction of Indian import duties

is ordered by the House of Commons on the votes of these members in the interests of their constituents, with no reciprocity whatever to Indian products, and they solemnly state that they do so for the sake of what they call Free Trade, a dogma that is repudiated by the economists of every other civilized country in the world—well, we can scarcely be surprised if the world calls us Pecksniffs.

## THE CYRUS VASE INSCRIPTION: EZRA AND ISAIAH.

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D.

If anyone is disposed to reject the Biblical Edicts of Cyrus, Darius, and their successors, let him read the following (see the Vase Inscription of Cyrus as published in German, upon the pioneer renderings of Rawlinson and Pinches, emended by Winckler, Hagen, Scrader and Delitzsch in the Johns Hopkins series; see also the Backstein Inscription, *idem.* the Vase Inscription):—

"The great Lord Marduk," so Kūrash dictated (was he not thinking of his own Ahura Mazda?), "regarded propitiously the protection"—that is to say, "the protector"—"of His people, his victorious work, and his righteous heart, going toward his city Babil as a friend, and as a companion at his side."

### THE INSCRIPTION AND ISAIAH.

With this compare Isaiah: "Whose right hand I have holden." "In righteousness have I raised him up, and all his ways will I direct. I will go before them, and the crooked shall I make straight."

### THE THRONGING TROOPS.

"His troops spreading out in numbers never known," so the Inscription proceeds, "like the waters of a stream marched weapon-girded at his side." This is even more graphic than the prophet. "Thus saith Yahweh to Koresh . . . to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates shall not be shut"—that is to say, "they shall be forced with little effort."

"Without battle," says the Inscription, "made He (Marduk) him (Kūrash) enter Babil; my widely thronging troops came in, in peace." "Bars of iron shall I cut asunder," said Isaiah; and in an isolated spot of the worn Inscription, according to Hagen at least, occur the words, "the door was destroyed."\* "I will loose the loins of Kings," said Isaiah; and the Inscription runs, "Nabuna'id the King who feared Him (Marduk, He, Marduk) delivered him into his (Kūrash's) hand." Recall Isaiah's words of Yahweh, "he (Koresh) shall do all My pleasure."

### THE RECEPTION OF CYRUS.

But the Inscription goes further, and makes him out to be a "pleasure," not only to the Deity, but to the captured population. In fact, he claims at once a plebiscite from the masses whom he had just conquered, or from the gods who represented them: "whose (Kūrash's, Cyrus's) sovereign authority they desired to the joy of their hearts."

The Hebrew records teem with terms describing the welcome—see the

\* This need not have been a city gate, but that it was some portal of importance seems certain; that is to say, if it were indeed anything at all, and was "cut asunder."



citations everywhere ; and on his side, in the Inscriptions, Kurash claims the fawning homage of the Babylonians and dubs it genuine. It had, however, the meanest motives. "They rejoiced," says the ardent politician, "over his assuming the kingdom . . . their faces beamed (*sic*), for the Lord who by force of His power wakes the dead"—a touch this of his Persian sentiment, if the translations have not hid the truth ; he was used to speaking so of his Ahura—"Him Who with care and waiting protection," he continues, "had done all well, Him did they bless with joy, guarding and maintaining His name."

The Inscription seems to surpass our Hebrew texts themselves in the high colour of its delineations ; and if the Babylonian words were not all so simple, we should hardly believe them to have been rightly read by the distinguished scholars who have so sagaciously and so laboriously worked upon them. We were also once uneasy, as we remember, at the suspicious statement that Koresh (Cyrus) was declared to have seriously professed some real regard for the (foreign) Yahweh. But all the same, on the Inscription he never pauses in his steady movement forward.

#### CONSIDERATION FOR THE NATIVE GODS.

"Since I entered Babil"—so he ventures to assert—"amidst exulting shouts (*sic*), and established the Throne in the Palace of the Princes, Marduk the great Lord made the honourable hearts (*sic*) of the inhabitants of Babil inclined toward me, *because I was daily mindful of His worship*." Note well this most rational item, which is to be compared with what is said below ; see it expressing the courteous and humane recognition of the other "gods," the "clan-gods," or "all the gods," whom the successor of Cyrus so wisely and sincerely respects. "My widely thronging troops . . ." so he continues (did something favourable, we may be sure).

"I allowed no affliction to seize all Sumer and Akkad, the honourable race. I justly took over all the necessities of Babil and all its cities. The inhabitants realized the satisfaction of their hearts' desires (*sic*), and the dishonouring yoke (*n. b.*) was taken from them." The orator goes on, and laments the sad condition of Babil under the man whom he had just relieved of his crown and of his capital ; not that Nabuna'id was faultless. "Their sighs I hushed," so he proceeds ; "their anger"—as against the deposed sinner?—"I appeased (*sic*). Marduk, the great Lord, rejoiced over my works so full of . . . (beneficial results?). He blessed me, Kūrash, who worship Him in grace, and also Kambuzi'a, my body's son, since we in righteousness praise before Him His sublime Divinity." See the expressions recorded of Artaxerxes cited below.

#### EZRA'S EXPRESSIONS VINDICATED.

This for ever annihilates the authority of all who too cynically treat our Bible texts. If Cyrus spoke thus of these false gods, so inferior to his own Ahura, surely he must have said something like what Ezra records of Yahweh, so near his own great Deity.

AND SO ISAIAH.

Isaiah has said: "Thus said Yahweh to Koresh, his Messiah, to subdue nations before him"; and according to Ezra we have: "Thus saith Koresh, King of Persia: All the kingdoms of the earth hath Yahweh Elohim of Heaven given me" (see also the Iranian Inscriptions, which heighten the expressions). "I am Kūrash, King of the All (the then known world), the great King, the mighty King, King of Babil, King of Sumer and Akkad (which he had just conquered), King of the four quarters of the world"—compare Isaiah's expression "from the East to the West," not said of Koresh, but in the immediate connection, and in consequence of his inspired action. "I am the son of Kambuzi'a, the great King, the King of Anshan, grandson of (a former) Kūrash, the great King, King of Anshan, of all royal blood." Here we have doubtless some diplomatic exaggeration, as this hardly agrees with Behistūn; nevertheless, this Vase Inscription is practically in line with that and the others. Isaiah proceeds: "Thus saith Yahweh, The labour of Egypt and the merchandise of Ethiopia and of the Sabeans, men of stature, shall be thine; they shall come after thee; in chains shall they come, and they shall fall down unto thee, saying, 'Surely God is in thee.'" If said not of Koresh but of Israel, this was yet said in direct consequence of the deliverance of Israel as effected by Koresh (Cyrus). And according to the Inscription, not only did the dwellers in Babil, all Sumer and all Akkad, princes and potentates, fall down before Kūrash (Cyrus), but "all the kings of the heavenly regions (the four quarters of the horizon), enthroned as they were in palaces, altogether from the upper sea (the Persian Gulf?) to the lower sea (the Mediterranean), the Kings of the West lands dwelling in tents (Arab-like), all brought their heavy tribute and *kissed my feet in Babil* from . . . to Asha . . . and Shushan . . . to the cities on the other side of the Tigris."

DIVINITIES RESTORED TO THEIR TEMPLES.

Then as to the actual restoration of foreign deities and the reinstatement of temple services, which once sounded to some of us so strange when said of Cyrus and the Jewish Yahweh by Ezra and the Chronicler (see the places): "And He, the God of Heaven," so they had made Cyrus say, "He, your Yahweh Elohim, hath charged me to build Him an house in Jerusalem, which is Judah." This seems, indeed, at the first glance upon it to be a steep fence for us to charge; but read the Inscription and see what it says, alluding not to allies, except in the crudest sense, but to the cringing hordes just conquered. He (Cyrus) writes: "I brought back to their place (the gods . . .) and made them dwell in an abode for ever." And as to the actual rebuilding of the sacred city, see the Backstein Inscription. Eshakkil was a temple city, as it seems, and the Inscription reads: "Kū-ra-ash ba-ni-i(m) Êshakkil u Ê-zî-da apil m Kambū-zî-ia sharru dannu a-na-ku" ("Kūrash the builder of E. and E., son of K., the great 'King 1.'"). The first thing Cyrus thought of, after a conquest, was to rebuild temples and replace the local gods.

And as to the notorious return of the captive tribes, if anyone still

hesitates at that, see the line : "All the inhabitants I collected and then restored to their dwellings"; see also the restorations mentioned upon Behistun. I cannot help noticing here what we would once term that "romantic" item, where Artaxerxes, after fulsome commands for a restoration, makes an appeal for himself to the Jews that they may "offer sacrifice of sweet savour unto Elohim of Heaven, and pray for the life of the King and his sons," reminding us also of Ahasuerus and the rest. Who has not at times thought this an especially feeble adjunct to the tale? Yet it was one of the most sober of all serious statements connected with all that went before—the one most naturally to be expected of all possible assertions in the connection. "May the gods," wrote Kūrash (Cyrus), after having fully restored them to their shrines, "may all the gods," he wrote, "whom I have brought into their cities (just as Yahweh was restored to Jerusalem)—may all the gods pray daily before Bel and Nabu for long life for me . . . and speak to my Lord Marduk for Kūrash the King, who fears thee, and Kambuzi'a, his son." If our Semitic Scriptures had said nothing of the Cyrus Edicts, we should know from the Inscription alone that such Edicts must have been published; and as it is, the expressions of the Inscription are more graphic than those of the Bible.

## THE BENARES MASSACRE OF 1799: A STUDY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY POLITICS.

BY FRANCIS H. SKRINE, I.C.S. (*retired*).

IT has often been remarked that human action was swayed by currents of thought, operating over vast areas, while the agencies of steam and electricity were still in embryo. Nothing is more mysterious, more deserving of scientific inquiry, than the revolutionary waves which swept over Europe in 1789, 1820, 1830, and 1848. The first was incomparably the most potent. A new trend was given to civilisation by the cataclysm which overwhelmed the old French monarchy, and the ideas of 1789 have by no means spent their force. The reflex action of these occult forces on Great Britain has never received adequate attention from historians. In 1793 the governing oligarchy made use of the traditional hatred of France to serve their selfish ends, and plunged the country into war in order to distract attention from crying abuses at home. Disaster attended the earlier phases of the struggle for both belligerents, and in 1797 our sea power was threatened by the Mutiny at the Nore; the fabric of commercial credit by the Bank of England's suspension of cash payments. In the following year a rebellion drenched the sister island with blood, and strained England's resources well-nigh to breaking-point. Our French adversaries, not content with despatching a body of troops to aid the Irish malcontents, fitted out a powerful expedition in view of seizing Egypt, and making that debatable land a stepping-stone in a sustained attack on British India.

Never was there a fairer moment for renewing the secular struggle for dominion in the peninsula. Its condition was almost as chaotic as that of France ere the might of her feudal nobles was broken by Louis XI. The Mughal Empire was a mere shadow, its representative virtually a prisoner at Delhi. But the merchant adven-

turers who grasped the sceptre of Akbar were beset with powerful foes. The Maratha States established at Puna, Baroda, Satara, Nagpur, Gwalior, and Indor suspended their mutual jealousies, and stood solid in a fierce desire to expel the white intruders. At Hyderabad the Nizam maintained a force of 14,000 mercenaries, officered and drilled by Frenchmen. Scindia, too, had a French contingent in his pay. Tippu Sultan, in Mysore, was closely allied with the Republic; and Bourbon and Mauritius were hornets' nests, whence a swarm of privateers sallied forth to prey on British commerce.

Times so charged with peril for the ill-consolidated rule of Great Britain demanded a strong hand at the helm of State; but Sir John Shore, who had been Governor-General since 1793, was a conspicuous instance of the success so often attained by adroit and laborious mediocrity. He was amiable, honest, and conscientious, an encyclopædia of revenue lore, and the father of the Permanent Settlement. But Shore was destitute of a tinge of statesmanship, and his conceptions of governing India were those of the counting-house. He had shown deplorable weakness in dealing with a white mutiny in the Bengal army. He stood by while Marathas invaded the Nizam's territories; he permitted the entertainment of French mercenaries by Native States in defiance of treaty, and stirred not a finger to check Tippu Sultan's growing power in the Carnatic. Orientals are very quick to grasp defects in a ruler's character. The Muhammadan Princes so recently ousted from their dominions looked for early deliverance from a yoke which weighed the heavier because the loss of autonomy was not yet compensated by the blessings of peace and an enlightened regard for the general welfare. Men's eyes turned to Napoleon's rising star, and French victories were eagerly discussed in every bazar. The general unrest was deepened by a new invasion of India from the north-west. Zeman Shah, grandson of the founder of the Afghan dynasty, led a vast army to Lahore, and

threatened to seize Delhi. 1798 was, indeed, *annus mirabilis*—a year charged with portents for India and the civilised world.

Nowhere were brighter hopes of freedom cherished than in Oudh, which was one of the many independent States erected by erstwhile feudatories on the ruins of the Mughal Empire. Its geographical position, athwart our lines of communication between Calcutta and Upper India, gave Oudh an importance beyond its area and population. The Nawabs had proved themselves stanch allies of the struggling British power, but their friendship received scanty gratitude. They had been deprived of the province of Benares in 1775, and were compelled to maintain a British contingent at a ruinous expense to their exchequer. In 1797 Asaf-ud-Daula, who occupied the thorny throne of Lucknow, was gathered to his fathers, and two members of the royal family claimed the succession. The elder was Asaf-ud-Daula's brother, Nawab Saādat Ali, who resided at Benares in perpetual fear of intrigues against his life. Failing legitimate male issue of the late Sovereign, he was the heir of Oudh. But the Nawab left a putative son, commonly styled Wazir Ali. In 1797 he was a proud, headstrong lad of seventeen, generous to profusion, but utterly without intellectual or moral training. Wazir Ali, however, had always been recognised by Asaf-ud-Daula as his heir, and the choice was acquiesced in by the Begams, as the wife and mother of the late Nawab were called. His right to succeed was challenged by a strong party at Court, headed by the Prime Minister, Zahsir Ali, who alleged that the youth was notoriously illegitimate. The dispute was referred to Sir John Shore's arbitration. Influenced by the admitted danger of impugning filiation, and by the fact that, under Moslem law, Wazir Ali's rights were irrefragable, the Governor-General decided in his favour. He was placed on the throne by the British Resident at Lucknow, and the thunder of the contingent's cannon proclaimed the accession of a new ruler.

Lucknow was then a perfect hotbed of intrigue, and Wazir Ali's foes soon renewed their machinations against his authority. The chief wirepuller was Zahsir Ali, who had, of course, fallen into disgrace. He was deprived of office, and courtiers who visited him incurred their master's ill-will. But the knot of malcontents daily extended their influence. The Begams were won over, and a yet weightier champion was secured in Ilmas Ali Khan. This person began life as a eunuch in Nawab Shuja-ud-Daula's harem, and soon gained boundless influence in the State. He became the chief farmer of the Oudh revenues, and amassed immense wealth.\* But he was distrusted by the British Government, and forced to keep aloof from affairs. Ilmas's astuteness told him that the young Nawab's side was the weaker, and he threw the whole weight of his riches and influence into the other scale. Every base device known to the fathomless Oriental mind was brought into play, with the result that the British Resident at Lucknow was enticed into the conspirators' camp. Wazir Ali's own conduct, too, contributed to his ruin. He wallowed in debauchery, while he sought to gain the support of his troops by lavishing on them the hoards of Asaf-ud-Daula. Tales of his excesses, which did not lose in the telling, reached Sir John Shore, who announced his intention of visiting Oudh in order to sift the scandals of the new reign.

He arrived at Lucknow in December, 1797. That a *coup d'état* had already been planned was shown by the strength of his escort, which was composed of an entire

\* These riches were spent in a manner which atoned for their ignoble origin. Ilmas Ali Khan is still remembered in Oudh as a public benefactor. He founded a city called Miyanganj, which is referred to in a "History of Unao," issued privately by Sir Charles Elliott in 1861, as "one of the few places in Unao worth visiting." It is a square, with four wide streets meeting in a central point, surrounded by lofty crenellated walls and forty-four towers. Colonel Sleeman, of Thagi fame, regarded Ilmas Ali as "one of the best and greatest men of any note that Oudh had produced . . . he kept the people secure in life and property, and as happy as people in such a state of society can be ; and the whole country under his charge was, during his lifetime, a garden."

division of the Bengal army under the courtly commander-in-chief, Sir Alured Clarke.\* The Governor-General had a unique opportunity of influencing a young career for good. Wazir Ali was still a mere boy, and his naturally generous disposition might have responded to an attempt at friendly guidance. Tact, firmness, and an open mind were surely qualities which he might expect in the ruler of so many millions. But if the unhappy Prince pinned his faith on British justice he was doomed to disappointment. Sir John Shore's ear was gained by Zahsir Ali and Ilmas Khan, who represented their master as hater of the English, and one who would brook no interference from them. The Governor-General's fears were worked on by veiled hints at the danger of assassination. He was induced to quit the Residency, destined to become a household word sixty years later, and take up his quarters at a garden palace five miles from the city. Thither he was followed by Wazir Ali, who pitched his tents hard by. But at this critical moment the Nawab was attacked by illness, and all intercourse with his guest was suspended. The interval was employed by the conspirators to compass his destruction. They adduced evidence to prove that Wazir Ali's mother was enceinte by a menial servant at the time of her purchase by Asaf-ud-Daula. The Governor-General's ears were plied with tales of the young man's extravagance and debauchery, of traits in his character arguing a base origin. The worthy Christian gentleman was horror-stricken by the disclosures. "Never," he exclaimed, "have I been involved in a scene of greater perplexity and profligacy!"

\* We get a delightful glimpse of this veteran soldier in George Borrow's "Wild Wales." The ancient parish clerk of Llangollen, discoursing of the famous pair of great ladies who made that sequestered village their hermitage, said that "the ladies were in the habit of receiving the very first people of Britain, amongst whom was an ancient gentleman of most engaging appearance and captivating manners called Sir Alured C.—. He was in the army, and in his youth, owing to the beauty of his person, was called the 'handsome Captain.' It was said that one of the royal Princesses was desperately in love with him, and that on that account George III. insisted on his going to India."



At length his mind was made up. Wazir Ali must be dethroned, and the lawful heir installed in his stead. Thus the fate of a kingdom was decided on evidence which in England would not have determined the right to possess a few acres of turnips!

Negotiations were promptly opened in profound secrecy with Saadat Ali. He was timid, parsimonious, and given to strong drink; but the latter vice did not obscure his capacity for affairs, and he had a fund of quiet obstinacy which afterwards stood him in good stead in repelling encroachments on his authority. On this occasion the Nawab-elect was too elated at the prospect of exchanging poverty and exile for a throne to haggle over terms. He acquiesced in a new treaty which increased the subsidy payable by Oudh from 550,000 to 750,000 pounds sterling. He renounced the right enjoyed by his ancestors of communicating with foreign Powers, agreed to entertain no European in his service, and to defray the expenses of his investiture to the extent of £120,000. These concessions being wrung from Saadat Ali, he was smuggled from Benares to Cawnpore by Mr. Cherry, the Governor-General's Agent at the former city, and thence escorted to Lucknow by a formidable British force. In the meantime Sir John Shore had concerted arrangements for the investiture, or, as we should say, coronation, with the Begams. On arriving at Lucknow Saadat Ali was placed on the Governor-General's own elephant, and made a State progress through the crowded streets. The resentment of the populace, of whom the new Nawab stood in mortal dread, was disarmed by showers of rupees. Thus the ceremony passed off without a hitch, and the King-maker sat down to report his splendid stroke of business to the magnates of Leadenhall Street.

"The world would do well to reflect," says Charles Dickens, "that injustice is to every generous and properly-constituted mind an injury the most insufferable, the most torturing, and the hardest to bear." The agonies of sus-

pense and humiliation endured by Wazir Ali may be better imagined than described. In no enviable frame of mind did he proceed to Benares, which was prescribed as his place of exile. It is difficult to conceive greater folly than that which prompted the selection. Benares, at once the Athens and Mecca of Hinduism, lay on the Oudh frontier, only 170 miles from Lucknow, and was itself a centre of disaffection and intrigue. Many of the citizens remembered the hairbreadth escape of Warren Hastings from a mob assembled in its crowded streets in 1774. Here, however, the dethroned Sovereign was permitted to establish himself in a mansion known as Madhu Das's garden, which stood on the city outskirts. As he enjoyed a pension of £15,000 a year, paid from the Oudh revenues, he was in a position to entertain the horde of followers deemed by every Indian Prince a necessary adjunct of his authority. He never stirred abroad without an escort of horse and foot, armed to the teeth, and preceded by *nagaras*, those giant drums which are a badge of the highest rank. A blunder only inferior to that which assigned Benares as Wazir Ali's residence was the license accorded to a youth weighed down by "sorrow's crown of sorrow" and maddened by a sense of injustice.

Sir John Shore bade farewell to India in March, 1798, little recking the tragic consequences which, sooner or later, must attend want of sympathy and political foresight in a ruler. He found an Irish peerage and a seat on the Board of Control awaiting him, and received the directors' thanks for his "wisdom and tact" in dealing with the Oudh Succession. The new Lord Teignmouth settled down at home, to be a burning and shining light in Evangelical circles; and it is only fair to his memory to add that he obliterated the sinister associations which cling to his Indian career by founding the British and Foreign Bible Society.

His successor, Richard Colley Wellesley, Earl of Mornington, better known to us as the Marquis Wellesley, was a man of very different stamp. A profound and

elegant scholar, a statesman and citizen of the world, he had a large share of the genius that shone more conspicuously in his younger brother, the Duke of Wellington. During the outward voyage the Governor-General-elect landed at Cape Town, which was in those days a sanatorium for Indian invalids. Here he met a galaxy of distinguished officials, including Major Kirkpatrick, Resident at Hyderabad, whose brilliant career was cut short by death.\* After prolonged discussions with this expert, Lord Mornington became convinced that the balance of power, which had been the corner-stone of Indian polity since the Carnatic settlement of 1775, was an exploded theory. England must assert and enforce her suzerainty over the peninsula, and *debellare superbos* must be her watchword. The first-fruits of the new departure was a resolve to crush Tippu Sultan, who was plotting an attack on Madras with the French authorities at Mauritius. In order to pave the way for the coming struggle, Lord Mornington brought pressure to bear on the Nizam, who was compelled to observe treaty-pledges by disbanding his French mercenaries. Then the neutrality of the Maratha Princes was secured by ably-conducted negotiations, and the British forces operating against Tippu were guaranteed against a flank attack.

While planning these gigantic combinations, the Governor-General found leisure for settling the affairs of Oudh. He saw that the centre of gravity in that province had shifted from Lucknow to Benares. British interests there were in the hands of Mr. Cherry, of the Civil Service, as Agent of the Governor-General—a frank, boisterous official of the eighteenth-century type, who was more intent on sport and hospitality than watching the dark currents of Oriental

\* A handsome monument in the old cathedral, Calcutta, is thus inscribed: "To the memory of Lieut.-Col. James Achilles Kirkpatrick, of the H.E.I.C.'s military establishment of Fort St. George, who, after filling the distinguished station of Resident at the Court of Hyderabad upwards of nine years, and successfully conducting during that period various important negotiations, died at Calcutta 15th October, 1805, aged 41 years."

intrigues. Happily for the continuance of British authority, the Governor-General had a more trustworthy representative in Mr. Samuel Davis, who was judge and magistrate of the city court. The latter was a first-rate linguist, draughtsman, and astronomer, whose unrestrained intercourse with all the best elements in native society had given him some inkling of Wazir Ali's design. This was nothing less than the subversion of British rule in India. The ex-Nawab was in correspondence with the victorious Zeman Shah at Lahore; he had an active agent at Calcutta, and was in close touch with the disaffected Muhammadan nobles throughout Upper India. The movement received support from large numbers of Hindu zemindars, who appear to have been disgusted with the levelling tendencies of our courts of law. The Maharaja of Benares, indeed, stood aloof, but many of his relatives threw themselves heart and soul into the plot. Chief amongst these was Jagat Singh, whose foibles were inordinate vanity and ambition to shine as a Persian poet. He undertook to raise many thousands of adherents in support of Wazir Ali's scheme for seizing Benares. Another conspirator was a wealthy landowner named Bhavani Sankar Singh, who lived in a fortress on the Chunar side of the Ganges. A third was one Shionath, who had a house within the city, and commanded a band of *Bankas*, swash-bucklers, whose ferocity may be faintly conceived by Indian officials who remember the *lathiyals*, or bludgeon-men, maintained by zemindars of a former generation. Lists of the disaffected, which were afterwards unearthed by Mr. Davis's acumen, showed that 4,000 footmen and 100 cavalry stood pledged to join Wazir Ali at once, while 80,000 more would declare themselves on his first successes. It was resolved, however, to defer the signal for a general insurrection until the British garrisons in Upper India were depleted by the exigencies of the expedition against Tippu Sultan, then fitting out at Calcutta.

All symptoms of the coming storm were lost on Mr. Cherry. Vainly did his colleague urge him to insist on

Wazir Ali's quitting Benares. He declined to receive a Brahmin who was prepared to disclose the intrigues between the ex-Nawab and Jagat Singh. He rejected with contumely a proposal made by the military authorities to station a few companies at Sekrol, on the western outskirts of Benares. Finding his chief obdurate, Mr. Davis had no alternative but to report the facts to the Calcutta Council. His warning received the attention which it deserved. Lord Mornington saw that his predecessor's cardinal blunder must be promptly remedied. He ordered Mr. Cherry to inform Wazir Ali of the Supreme Government's intention to transfer him to Calcutta.

This news came as a thunderbolt on the half-demented youth. All hopes of regaining his birthright and wreaking vengeance on his foes must be foregone were he compelled to reside at Calcutta under the supervision of the Central Government. He protested vigorously against the contemplated removal, and on learning that the decision in his case was irrevocable, he pretended acquiescence, while he made preparations to strike a prompt blow for power and freedom. Mr. Cherry was informed that the Nawab intended to start for Calcutta on January 16, 1799, while the conspirators were secretly summoned to assemble at Madhu Das's garden on January 14. The plan of campaign offered many chances of success. It was to open with a general massacre of the British residents, so that none should escape to warn the military. The city gates were then to be barricaded, the townsfolk armed. It was anticipated that the example of successful resistance would encourage the disaffected nobles throughout Upper India to join the rebel standard. Unhappily for Wazir Ali's ambitions, the land was not yet denuded of British troops. General Sir James Craig commanded a brigade at Anupshahr, north-west of Benares, and Major-General Erskine had a British cavalry regiment with native infantry details at Bitabar, only ten miles from the city. Had Wazir Ali been able to wait for his ally Zeman Shah's

advance, and the move southwards of the British garrisons, he might have thrown off the mask with every prospect of success. The force of circumstances compelled him to embark on a premature and, therefore, a desperate enterprise.

He had sullenly held aloof from the English colony ; but the Agent of the Governor-General was, perforce, an exception. The ex-Nawab maintained a certain degree of formal intercourse with the man whom he abhorred as the planner of Saādat Ali's secret journey to Cawnpore. No suspicion was excited in Mr. Cherry's mind by a message received from Wazir Ali on January 13 that His Highness proposed breakfasting with him on the morrow. When that fateful day dawned 200 devoted followers mustered at Madhu Das's garden. Aware of the perils that awaited them, each Muhammadan carried his winding-sheet dipped in Mecca's sacred well. Then, at 8.30, fully armed, with matches lighted and drums beating, the rebels sallied forth for their victim's residence. On their way thither they met Mr. and Mrs. Davis returning from their usual morning ride on an elephant. A hurried consultation took place. Should they despatch the enemy whose foresight had well-nigh baffled their designs ? It was agreed that his time had not yet come ; that nothing must interfere with the main object of the expedition. Salaams were exchanged, and the magistrate passed on. A young civilian named Graham, who was on his way to breakfast with Davis, was less fortunate. He was dragged from his palanquin and cut to pieces, and his fate was shared by a European shop-keeper named Hill.

On reaching Mr. Cherry's residence, Wazir Ali was met in the veranda by his host, who escorted him to the dining-room, where breakfast was laid out. Four followers pressed in after him, including a brace of young ruffians named Waris Ali and Izzat Ali, who had prompted their master in every sanguinary design, and all were armed with sword, buckler, and pistols. After the party had taken

their seats round the breakfast-table, Mr. Cherry offered his chief guest a cup of tea. Brushing it aside, Wazir Ali shouted that he had something of importance to communicate, and burst into a flood of invective against the British Government. He declared that Mr. Cherry was leagued with Saādat Ali in wishing to compass his death, and wound up with a point-blank refusal to go to Calcutta. Ere Mr. Cherry had recovered from his amazement, Waris Ali, who was sitting opposite him, moved to a chair at his side. This was evidently a preconcerted signal, for Wazir Ali rose to his feet and seized Mr. Cherry by the collar, while Waris Ali pinioned his arms. Though he was wounded by a sword-cut from the ex-Nawab, the unhappy man escaped from the murderer's grasp, and fled through the veranda into the garden. Here he was followed by the mob and cut to pieces. The tale of bloodshed did not end with his death. A young civilian named Evans, who was Mr. Cherry's private secretary, was seized by Izzat Ali, who stabbed at him with a dagger. Receiving a wound from the sword of a faithful attendant the ruffian relaxed his grasp, and poor Evans ran into an adjoining field, where he was done to death by Wazir Ali's escort, posted to intercept fugitives. A fifth victim was Captain Conway, who resided with Mr. Cherry. Returning home from a ride while the slaughter was in progress, he was dragged from his horse and slain by the armed mob.

Leaving the poor creatures weltering in their blood, Wazir Ali, with his myrmidons, proceeded to Mr. Davis's house, a two-storied brick building barely a quarter of a mile distant. Their intended quarry's suspicions had been excited by the behaviour of the escort whom he met on their murderous errand. He sent a messenger to warn Mr. Cherry that mischief was brewing, and anxiously awaited his return. Dire forebodings were excited by the speedy approach of the howling mob, and no doubt of their intentions remained when they shot down a sentry posted fifty yards from the bungalow. It was a fearful moment,

for what could one man do against 200 armed to the teeth? There was but one chance of escape, one place of refuge until the arrival of rescue—the flat roof, which was reached by a winding staircase from the upper floor. Thither Mr. Davis escorted his wife and two little children\* with their native nurses, and then ran downstairs for his firearms. It was too late. The murderers had swarmed into the house, and were already mounting the staircase. Looking around him in despair, his eye lit on a native attendant who carried a pike, such as was used in those days by great men's followers. It was six feet in length, had an iron handle adorned with silver rings, and a sharp triangular steel blade. Seizing this weapon, Mr. Davis rejoined his trembling family on the roof, which was surrounded by a parapet giving so little shelter that the women and children were forced to crouch in the centre. Then, grasping his trusty spear, he took post at the head of the winding staircase, which was luckily too narrow to admit more than one enemy at a time. The hatchway into which it opened was covered with a bullet-proof canvas frame, which Mr. Davis pushed aside a little to observe what was going on below. Presently Izzat Ali mounted the steps with a drawn sword, while others pressed behind him. Seeing that his quarry was prepared the assailant stopped, and poured forth a volume of abuse. The rejoinder was a shout, "The troops are coming from camp!" and a spear-thrust which pierced Izzat Ali's arm and compelled him to beat a hasty retreat. A few minutes later the attack was renewed. Again was the foremost assassin received by a spear-lunge, but he deftly evaded the blow, which fell on the staircase wall. This gave him an opportunity of grasping the spear-blade; but Mr. Davis dropped the shaft on the edge of the stairs,

\* One of them died as lately as 1890, aged ninety-six. He became Sir John Francis Davis, Bart., Governor of Hong Kong, and a leading authority on Chinese affairs. I am indebted for the details of the Benares massacre to his nephew, the late Mr. Henry Willock, B.C.S., who rendered distinguished services during the Indian Mutiny.



and, using the leverage thus gained, he jerked the weapon from the enemy's grasp, cutting his hands to the bone.

The winding stairs were now evacuated by the mob, who fired pistol volleys at the hatchway. Then they spread over the house and grounds, and wreaked their vengeance on Mr. Davis's property. The furniture was smashed, the splendid mirrors destroyed, and three servants who ventured to remonstrate were slain. Next the stables received their attention. A pair of aged horses, which had been given Mr. Davis by Warren Hastings, were shot, and the rest appropriated. Meantime no efforts were spared to destroy the tiny garrison on the roof, and one of the nurses who ventured to expose herself received a bullet through the arm.

While the siege was in progress full scope was given to the elements of disorder to be found in every Indian city. Many Europeans fled for their lives to the Bitabar encampment, and a large party concealed themselves in a field of Indian corn. Major-General Erskine at Bitabar heard of the revolt from a fugitive named Cleves, and his entire force started for Benares with all despatch. Early intelligence of their approach must have reached the besiegers, for after an hour's agonizing suspense the clamour below ceased. Presently the solitary defender of the roof saw a native ascending the little staircase, and was about to transfix him, when he recognised an old table-servant, holding up a rescued teapot as a badge of fidelity, who had come to announce the enemy's retirement. Then followed a reinforcement of fifteen armed policemen, and Mr. Davis was able to await rescue with equanimity. About 11 a.m. the bright helmets of the British cavalry came into view. They formed up in front of the house, facing the city, whence a vast concourse was pouring towards the scene of action. Their hostile intention was made clear by a galling matchlock fire, and it would have gone hard with the troopers entangled in a maze of groves and gardens but for the arrival of the infantry, who toiled behind. The latter

met with some resistance while traversing the narrow streets, and many succumbed to a musketry-fire maintained from the roofs and upper stories. At length they reached Mr. Davis's house, and deployed into line under a hail of bullets poured on them from a neighbouring wood, where Wazir Ali commanded in person. Dislodged from this shelter by a round or two of grape from the galloper-guns, the rebels retreated to Madhu Das's garden, but were promptly followed by the bulk of Erskine's force. Again the little field-guns spoke out, and when a cannon-shot struck the turret on which Wazir Ali was posted, he saw that the day was lost. Mounting horse, with Waris Ali and a handful of followers, he sallied from a postern-gate and made for the hills. A few minutes later the gateway was blown open, and, just as the winter sun sank beneath the horizon, possession was obtained of the rebel stronghold. Had the assault been delayed till nightfall, mob law would have reigned in Benares. Indeed, there can be little doubt that but for the hour's respite given by Mr. Davis's heroic defence, and the ringleaders' absorption in the attack on his improvised citadel, no European would have escaped massacre, and Benares might well have become the focus of a general insurrection.\* Those who take delight in historical parallels can hardly fail to trace one between the outbreak at Benares

\* Nothing impresses the Oriental mind more deeply than personal courage. That displayed by Mr. Davis was the theme of many a native bard. I am indebted to Sir Charles Elliott for the following extract from one of these epics :

"Cherry took the Nawab by the hand and said :

'Let us make up this quarrel.'

'Then, sitting down, he said again :

'The order has come ; you have not obeyed it !'

The Nawab replied : 'I obey no orders ; I do as I like.'

Cherry said : 'You are a good-for-nothing !'

The Nawab rejoined : 'Jackal, keep a civil tongue in your head ! If

I draw my pistol, your brains will be scattered.

What would the Company's Agent then do to me ?'

Cherry rose quickly and tried to escape.

But Wazir Ali's sword shore him in twain !"

And so on for 350 lines.

of January 14, 1799, and the equally premature revolt at Meerut of May 20, 1857. Unhappily for British prestige, history failed to repeat itself in the measures taken to restore tranquillity. If the English at Meerut had possessed leaders with something like the vigour of Erskine and Davis, not one of the mutineers would have lived to reach Delhi. The standard of revolt would never have been raised at the old capital, and Jack Sepoy would have come to heel.

On Mr. Davis fell the whole brunt of the subsequent inquiries into the extent of the conspiracy. Startling evidence came to light as to its ramifications, and many leading chiefs and nobles of Upper India were deeply implicated. The capture of Jagat Singh and Bhavani Sankar was easily effected, and it is a noteworthy fact that the future Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone won his first laurels in tracking the ringleaders to their lair. They were tried by a special commission, and received sentence of death ; but in Bhavani Sankar's case it was commuted to one of lifelong transportation. He was sent to Calcutta by boat, and evaded loss of caste by taking poison. Shionath, with only five followers, defended his house for many hours against overwhelming odds. When they saw that the game was up, the *Bankas* sallied forth and were cut to pieces, after killing and wounding many of the besiegers. Even more tragical was the fate of the unhappy youth who had caused all this bloodshed. He fled northwards with a few retainers, and throwing himself into the Nepal Terai, he was joined by a band of 4,000 malcontents. A British force was despatched against them, and they suffered repeated defeats. Disappointed in their hopes of plunder, this following melted away. Wazir Ali, on whose head a reward of £2,000 was placed, sought refuge in Rajputana at the Court of the Maharaja of Jaipur. That Prince was unable to resist a demand for the fugitive's extradition, but, mindful of the claims of hospitality, he obtained pledges that Wazir Ali's life should be spared, and that he should not be laid in irons. On the anniversary of the Benares

massacre the man who had planned it passed through the city, a helpless prisoner, on his way to Calcutta. He was confined in a bomb-proof at Fort William which was nothing more nor less than a cage, and, after languishing there for many years, he was transferred to the State prison at Vellore, where he ended his miserable life.

With the failure of this wicked and desperate enterprise vanished the last hopes entertained by the people of Upper India of throwing off the sway of Great Britain. While Wazir Ali was a fugitive came news of Nelson's victory of the Nile, which deprived the French of their footing in Egypt; and the fall of Seringapatam (April 4, 1799) was the death-knell of England's one implacable foe. On the Marquis Wellesley's recall, after a stormy rule of seven years, he had well earned the title of Consolidator of British India.

It remains to sketch the subsequent career of the man whose dauntless bravery had preserved British prestige against overwhelming odds. The only official acknowledgment of his services was a cold letter of thanks from the Calcutta Council during the absence of Lord Mornington at the seat of war. That statesman, however, became his lifelong friend, and in an autograph communication he attributed the safety of the English residents, and the preservation of the city from pillage, to Mr. Davis's conduct "in that arduous trial of his prudence, activity, and resolution."

After completing his inquiries at Benares, my hero was summoned to Calcutta to assist in reorganizing the finances of India; and that task performed, he bade farewell to the land he had served so well and the service of which he was the brightest ornament. After his return to England he did many years of splendid work as a director of the East India Company. In 1813 came one of the periodical inquiries into British administration entailed by the renewal of the Company's Charter. The Parliamentary Committee which directed it requested Mr. Davis to assist in drafting a memorandum on the revenue administration of the

previous twenty years. He threw himself with all his wonted ardour into the task, and the outcome was the famous Fifth Report, which is, perhaps, the ablest State paper ever penned by Indian officials. It is a mine and arsenal of information bearing on the fiscal history of the Empire, and in breadth of view it far surpasses the Parliamentary reports issued at the subsequent renewals of the Charter in 1832 and 1853. It is melancholy to record that Mr. Davis's life was shortened by this intense labour. He died at Croydon on June 16, 1819, aged only fifty-eight, leaving a splendid example of courage, self-devotion, and sympathy for his successors in Indian administration. Thanks to the invincible modesty so often associated with the highest gifts, his name was unknown to the mass of his contemporaries, and has long since passed into undeserved oblivion. Truly "the world knows nothing of its greatest men." Let us unite in doing honour to Samuel Davis's memory.

MR. F. H. SKRINE writes: "I fear that something less than justice has been done by me to the character of G. F. Cherry, the chief victim of the Benares massacre of 1799. Mr. H. E. A. Cotton, who is one of his lineal descendants, has favoured me with a sketch of his ancestor's career, which tends to show that Mr. Cherry was a man of culture, who had rendered great services to his country. His only fault was an absence of guile, which is often associated with the artistic temperament. It is but just to his memory that the fact should be made public."

George Frederick Cherry, eldest son of George Cherry, Chairman of the Board of Commissioners for Victualling the Navy from 1785 to 1799, was born in 1761, and entered the Bengal Civil Service in 1778. His knowledge of the native languages won for him a position on Lord Cornwallis's staff, and he accompanied the Governor-General to Madras in 1792, when he dictated terms of peace to Tippoo Sahib under the walls of Seringapatam. These terms were, that he should give up half his territory and pay three crores of rupees, and give up two of his sons as hostages for the execution of the treaty. The young Princes, then ten and eight years of age, were placed, according to family tradition, under the guardianship of Captain Rose, George Frederick Cherry's brother-in-law, but this requires confirmation.

On Lord Cornwallis's retirement from the Governor-Generalship in 1793 he appointed Cherry Resident at Benares, and there he was murdered by Wazir Ali, the reputed eldest son of Nawab Asaf-ad-daula, on January 14, 1799. Cherry married at Calcutta, on March 5, 1789, Miss Martha Maria Paul, by whom he had a son, George Henry Cherry, who was born at Calcutta on August 30, 1793; was educated at Harrow and Christ Church, Oxford; sat in Parliament for Danwich from 1820 to 1862; and was a J.P.

and D.L. for the county of Berkshire, and High Sheriff in 1829. He died in 1848, leaving issue two sons and six daughters. George Frederick Cherry was an accomplished artist, and a portrait by him of Tippoo Sultan may be seen at the India Office (see Foster's Catalogue of India Office Pictures). Of his five brothers, three were also members of the Indian Civil Service: John Hector Cherry (Bombay, 1779 to 1803), who rose to be Senior Member of Council and Acting Governor of Bombay in 1802; Peter Cherry (Madras, 1789-1823), who was present in the capacity of Paymaster to the Forces at the capture of Seringapatam in 1799; and Alexander Inglis Cherry (Madras, 1824-1850).

Sir Henry Cotton's connection with the Cherry family is derived through Mr. Peter Cherry, whose eldest daughter, Susan, was married on October 18, 1821, to James Minchin, Master of the Supreme Court at Fort St. George. Their eldest daughter became the wife of Mr. Joseph John Cotton (second son of Mr. John Cotton, Director of the East India Company from 1833 to 1853, and Chairman in 1843), who served in the Madras Civil Service, and their second son is Sir Henry Cotton.

## “IS HINDU MUSIC SCIENTIFIC?”

BY C. TIRUMALAYYA NAIDU, M.R.A.S.

MR. WILSON, in a note on a passage in Kalidasa's "Meghasandesa," writes: "The Hindus have been the object of much idle panegyric and equally idle detraction; some writers have invested them with every enviable attribute, and they have been deprived by others of the common virtues of humanity." With all the praise which a few have bestowed in all disinterestedness, and others in a more or less formal manner, there seems to have been no nation on the face of the earth which has been subjected to greater calumny and humiliation than the Hindus. It had been a nation of liars and hypocrites, which a ruling bureaucracy would not credit with their least confidence. It, after all, required a Max Müller to wipe out this groundless stigma by his forcible logic and incontrovertible facts. All their ancient memorials were at best derived from an earlier civilization—it might be, of Egypt, Greece, or Rome. Their long-standing institutions which they could claim as their own were the barbarous products of half-savage men. Their Vyasa, Valmiki, and Manu were "half-shadowy prophets," who indulged in subtle intuitions in their own dreamy way, while "Pythagoras, Socrates and Zeno were historical philosophers," whose recorded precepts were far more trustworthy, and could be fitted in scientific order in intellectual systems. Their national heroes, Rama and Krishna, were either allegorical or fictitious personages to whom a false glory or a false wisdom was attributed. In fact, all their achievements in the past were but the result of a pure concatenation of circumstances which can produce similar results under similar circumstances. It is no hyperbolical language to say that there has not been a single instance on record of a people on whom a conquering race has heaped greater ignominy and whose past it has attempted to belittle with a view to its self-effacement.

Nowhere is this spirit more strongly shown than in the inglorious disparagement of their arts and sciences. But a few fair-minded men were not wanting whose just estimate of their importance made these aspersions groundless. Oriental scholars like Sir W. Jones, Colebrooke, and Wilson drew the attention of the civilized world to the treasures of art and wisdom which had since compelled the glowing admiration of a Goethe and a Schopenhauer. But of all the arts and sciences on which a foreign nation has not set its seal of approval, Hindu music is the one whose scientific basis has been frequently questioned, though it is traced to a remote past when it originated as a handmaid of religion and was studied as a divine art. Though it has been here cultivated as a means of passionate expression, it is nothing less than barbarous to a European who judges it by his own standard. Want of harmony is a serious obstacle in the way of its just appreciation. "Native concerts are a clamour of different tunes which was not simply indescribable, but really abominable." The terrible monotony which is believed to characterize this music makes it generally uninteresting, if not repellent, to European ears. The fact that three centuries of British rule had not brought about an assimilation of English principles carried with it the reproach of being "unprogressive" and effete! Its unique and distinguishing feature can never be considered as its specialty, but must make room for harmonic principles which underlie the Western music. Even its sympathizers are not free from prejudice, but concede a half-reluctant approval. A few can tolerate it only as valuable in an ethnological point of view, and as affording interesting comparison with the ancient national music of Europe, which it is said to resemble. It should be regarded as a historical relic of some curious interest to the idle antiquary in determining its position in the musical systems of the past, but not as a living art which gives pleasure to thousands of individuals in spite of its incapacity to gratify the human ear. With



some, singing and playing from memory are defects which detract from the eminence which it could otherwise have acquired. To this it has been well answered that all ancient musicians of Egypt, Greece and Rome lived in an age much prior to the date of the Monk of Arezzo, who is supposed to have been the inventor of the modern musical characters, and must consequently have played from memory, notwithstanding which they are celebrated to have acquired eminence. In more modern times we have had several bright examples in men who were either blind or were deprived of sight in early infancy, and constantly played from memory, who became great musicians and composers. In fact, several eminent men have been of opinion that the study of music was to be chiefly recommended to blind persons. Saunderson, the algebraist, became blind in his infancy, and Milton was so when he composed his divine poem, which shows what men are capable of doing from memory !

There are still others who, however much they can bring themselves to sympathize with it, can find in it only a sort of grim satisfaction. One of this class observes that “many of the Hindu melodies possess the plaintive simplicity of the Scotch and Irish and others, a wild originality pleasing beyond description.” “Plaintive simplicity” and “wild originality,” are expressions which, applied to our music, can but give a poor idea of its real characteristics. It is the contemptuous verdict of a giant when it is confronted with a pigmy, who, he knows, is helpless in asserting itself against his sturdy adversary. We must, indeed, be saved from such friends who, under the thin veil of a reluctant recognition, in reality bring it into ridicule. And, lastly, there is the class of critics who question its very foundations as unscientific. A critic of this school, Mr. H. M. Percival, contributed a paper, questioning its scientific character, to one of the early numbers of the *Calcutta Review*. It is my object here to examine the grounds on which the objection is made to rest.

Before examining the validity of the objection raised against Hindu music as a science, a few preliminary observations on the nature of music and its place among the sciences in general may not be out of place here.

Music is one of the fine arts, as having for its object happiness or pleasure. Every art in the beginning is in an empirical stage. It becomes scientific later on, when science is brought to bear upon it. The simple rules which science later on has revealed were unknown to men of genius, who were guided in their paths by "feeling, fancy, and inspiration." Science came afterwards, and only explained. Science is primarily concerned with the arrangement of the topics to be dealt with, suited to its ends in gathering, in verifying, and in communicating knowledge. Although such an arrangement may vary in different sciences, all sciences have "to proceed from the more easily to the easily known. Whatever is requisite for proving any doctrine should precede what is to be proved. The meanings of all terms should be distinctly given before they are made use of." These are the tests by which the scientific character of a subject should be judged. Music is a practical science where the arrangement is purely with reference to the end in view—*i.e.*, the purpose of the art, which is to charm our ears. "Music belongs, as a science, to an interesting part of natural philosophy, which, by mathematical deductions from constant phenomena, explains the causes and properties of sound, limits the number of mixed or harmonic sounds to a certain series, which perpetually recurs, and fixes the ratio which they bear to each other or to one leading term; but, considered as an art, it combines the sounds, which philosophy distinguishes in such a manner as to gratify our ears, or affect our imagination; or by uniting both objects, to captivate the fancy, while it pleases the sense; and speaking, as it were, the language of beautiful nature, to raise corresponding ideas and emotions in the mind of the hearer."

In music taste has a great deal to do with its preference.

The pleasure inherent in music varies with national taste, national predilections, and culture. This will account for the preference shown by each nation to its own music. Relativity of tastes is nowhere seen more forcibly than in music. Not only men of different races, but different men of the same race, have different standards of taste. Each nation has developed a standard for itself, which is not the result of adventitious circumstances. “The songs of every nation are uniformly the first-fruits of the fancy and feeling of rude societies, and even in the most civilized times are the only poetry of the great body of the people. Their influence, therefore, upon the character of a country has been universally felt and acknowledged. Among rude tribes it is evident that these songs must at first take their tone from the prevailing character of the people.” The following extract from *Frazer's Magazine* attempts to explain the reason for this national taste : “It was once observed by a celebrated woman that ‘those who are able to express simply and powerfully the music of different nations, and know how to listen to it as it deserves, need not go round the world in order to behold different nations, to visit their monuments, to read their books, or to traverse their plains and mountains, their gardens and deserts.’ The amount of truth embodied in the remark will be acknowledged by those only who think of music as a language, who feel all true art to be, in one point of view, the handmaid of history. . . . Our loving care is justly claimed by the pure and beautiful melody to be found amongst the still surviving relics of ancient song. Arising, as this music has done, from the breast of man in his untutored state, these songs, at first the improvisation of some unknown artist, caught up by his children or companions, and chanted from place to place, have gradually taken the form of purest melody, in which national feeling speaks forth simply unfettered by rules and unrestricted by conventionalities. Time has borne witness to the truth of the assertion ‘that it is by the force of melody, and not of harmony, that a work endures

successfully throughout all ages.' And yet, how little is this truth acknowledged in the present day, when it is the complaint of all who think and speak truly on the subject that the great value placed upon the technical and mechanical part of the art has brought our composers to a strange state. . . . Dr. Petrie justly adds that the people of every race and country will prefer their own national sensations, and is associated with the songs and recollections of their youth."

Yet another reason for the variety of national taste is to be found in the fact that, in the adoption of the elementary rules of musical composition, physical laws by themselves are inadequate to explain. It belongs to the domain of æsthetics. An unprejudiced study of the various musical systems of the world has revealed the fact that there exist national differences of taste which are an important factor in our estimate of their artistic beauty. "Whether one combination is rougher or smoother than another depends solely on the anatomical structure of the ear, and has nothing to do with psychological motives. But what degree of roughness a hearer is inclined to endure as a means or musical expression depends on taste and habit; hence the boundary between consonances and dissonances has been frequently changed. . . . Hence it follows that the system of scales, modes, and harmonic tissues does not rest solely upon inalterable natural laws, but is at least partly also the result of æsthetical principles, which have already changed, and will still further change, with the progressive development of humanity." Professor Blaserno writes: "What has been said is of itself sufficient apology for the opinion of those who maintain that music is not the result of absolute æsthetic principles, but that it is rather the result of successive musical education, an education which evidently primarily depends on the æsthetic aspirations of different nations and on the state of their culture. In fact, history shows that all bold musical innovations have had to contend with immense opposition, and it is convenient, though not

consistent with truth, to look upon such resistance as only rancour or personal envy. The true reason is that there is no mathematical expression by which to define with certainty when a ratio is simple and when not; and it is equally difficult to establish when a sound ceases to be agreeable. Whether it be more or less simple, more or less complicated, more or less agreeable, it depends on the habit of the ear how far it will follow a bold innovation. In truth, certain harmonies, which are now considered perfectly advisable, were not so considered in past centuries, especially in the early stages of music."

The general tenor of the critic's (Mr. Percival's) arguments seems to rest on the assumption that every system of music should be critically estimated only in accordance with the laws of modern harmony. Wherever he can he goes into ecstasies over the perfection of the modern European music. He thinks that the Hindu system can never hope to reach that sublime height which Western music has attained till the rational and scientific elements that form its solid foundations are introduced into it. If it is to be improved scientifically, it can be done only by the application of the laws of "European harmony." He is convinced that no system which does not possess harmony, or is not susceptible of being improved on harmonic principles, is neither scientific nor worthy of popular attention. To say the least, such a judgment is based on colossal ignorance of national systems of music whose origin dates back to the very foundations of society. It would be as futile to criticise a nation for its diet and dress, which are the result of its environments, as to expect the laws of Hindu music to conform to modern harmony and counterpoint. But many competent judges of melodic and harmonic systems were not much enamoured of the superior effects of the latter, and have not vouched for their perfection on scientific grounds. Music, like other things, has been changing. What was regarded as a consonance in the past has become a dissonance to the modern ear. Helm-

holtz thinks "there can be no absolute rule for the admission of dissonance and for determining the limit up to which it may be used. All this depends on the degree of musical culture and habit. Discords which are now perfectly permissible would have appeared monstrosities in the time of Palestrina. On the other hand, certain notes adopted by the Greeks at a period of decline—as, for example, quarter-tones—are decisively rejected by us. It is therefore an error, which many commit, to think that music, and especially modern music, has absolute character and values, and therefore to reject any musical system which does not agree with ours. There is nothing absolute in it but the laws of notes and their combinations ; but the application of these laws is rather vague, and there remains a very wide and indeterminate field, which will be traversed in very different ways by different nations at various historical epochs. . . . The feeling for historical artistic conception has certainly made little progress as yet among our musicians, even among those who are at the same time musical historians. They judge old music by the rules of modern harmony, and are inclined to consider every deviation from it as mere unskilfulness in the old composer, or even as barbarous want of taste. . . . But, scientifically, when we proceed to explain its construction (not of the modern tonal system) and display its consensus, we must not forget that our modern system was not developed from a national necessity, but from a purely chosen principle of style ; that, beside it and before it, other tonal systems have been developed from other principles, and that in such systems the highest pitch of artistic beauty has been reached by the successful solution of more limited problems. . . . This reference to the history of music was necessitated by our inability in this case to appeal to observation and experiment for establishing our explanations, because, educated in a modern system of music, we cannot thoroughly throw ourselves back into the condition of our ancestors, who knew nothing about what we have

been familiar with from childhood, and who had to find it all out for themselves. The only observations and experiments, therefore, to which we can appeal are those which mankind themselves have undertaken in the development of music. If our theory of the modern tonal system is correct, it must also suffice to furnish the requisite explanation of the former less perfect stages of development. . . . The ancient world developed this principle in homophonic music, and the modern world in harmonic music. But it is evident that it is merely an æsthetical principle, not a natural law. . . . The correctness of this principle cannot be established *a priori*. It must be tested by its results. The origin of such æsthetical principles should not be ascribed to natural necessity; they are the inventions of genius.” On this Mr. Ellis, his English translator, remarks: “Thus in R. G. Kiesewetter’s historico-musical writings, which are otherwise so rich in facts industriously collected, there is evidently an exaggerated zeal to deny everything which will not fit into the modern major and minor modes.” In the same vein Carl Engel argues: “The music of many foreign nations is apt to appear to us on first acquaintance unimpressive, strange, and, perhaps, even ridiculous, so that we find it difficult to understand how it can appeal to the heart at all. Many foreign nations experience the same difficulty with our music. An intelligent Chinese, having heard the missionary Amiot perform some music by Rameau and other French composers, hinted politely that it was sadly devoid of meaning and expression, while the music of his own country penetrated to the innermost soul. . . . The more a nation advances in civilization and self-esteem, the more will it appreciate the precept put forth by the ancient sages, *Know thyself*, and the more attentively will it investigate the views and tastes of other nations, since it is especially by observing others that we learn more thoroughly to understand ourselves.”

The question has been incidentally raised by our critic, and others as well, as to whether Hindus have ever known

the use of a standard tuning-fork. A standard pitch never seems to have been employed by the Hindus, and a tuning-fork was never employed by them. A brief history of the standard pitch will be found interesting in this connection as bearing upon the present question. From the earliest times there has been no agreement among musicians as to the actual standard pitch that should be employed. There can be no doubt that the extent of the human voice first determined the pitch that corresponded to it. This was purely a matter of physiology. “The two octaves of Pythagoras’s Greek scale must have corresponded with the compass of the male voices, and when Guido added the Gamma (G), one tone below the *Proslambanomenos* of the Greeks, we may fairly assume that it expressed the lowest note that could be comparatively taken by ordinary voices of the bass kind.” It was for a similar reason that the early Hindu musicians fixed three octaves as the highest range of the ordinary human voice. A separate pitch was also recognised for the female voice known as the *Mudhyama Sruti*. A study of the European history of music shows that the pitch at a later period varied according to the purpose the music served. Thus there was a different pitch for religious and secular purposes. The mean pitch, which was “about a whole tone above the flattest, and a minor third below the highest pitch used.” This was very successful, but the rapid progress of the instrumental orchestras, and the important place they occupied, necessitated the raising of the pitch with a view to “louder and more exciting effect.” But this tended to ruin the voices of the best singers, and was totally unsuited to the purpose of unrestrained singing. In England the principal orchestras continue to play at the elevated pitch; but this is repudiated by the general consensus of vocal performers, and in all cases where an orchestra does not come into requisition, as in churches and at vocal concerts, a much lower pitch is used, corresponding nearly with either the French or the classical one. Oriental musicians, on the



other hand, did not realize any necessity for an absolute pitch. This might be due to the fact that instrumental music made very little progress here. But the more probable cause was that they deemed it inadvisable to tether the different variations of the voice to a common pitch which was calculated to injure fine voices, and which was desirable to give free scope to the peculiar characteristics of individual voices. No inconvenience is here felt either by the musicians or by the audience for want of a common pitch. As long as instrumental music remains undeveloped, there seems to be no necessity for a standard pitch for melodic purposes. The want of a uniform pitch is not such a serious drawback as to minimize the value of Hindu music as a science. This is, however, a side-issue which need not be pursued further.

A serious mistake is not unfrequently committed by European critics in comparing the ancient scales of the Hindu music, which are practically obsolete, with their modern harmonic scale, which has established itself after a number of trials. A comparison of the ancient gramas, murchanas, with this scale is entirely out of place and irrelevant, as they find no place in either the modern elucidation of the subject or in modern practice. They were the scales which the early pioneers of the Hindu music devised to suit their own requirements. They are an anachronism so far as the modern music is concerned. These critics might as well compare the modern Greek music with their more ancient modes. That they should be tested in the light of modern harmony is like comparing the modern Egyptians with their ancient mummies which their ingenuity had raised, and which are simply relics of historic and antiquarian importance. Modern Hindu music has considerably diverged from its ancient nomenclature and practice, and is for all practical purposes different from it. It is an unpardonable error of judgment to continue to refer to a system which has ceased to have a modern application. The grounds of objection, according to the

critic, are : First, the seemingly arbitrary nature of the Hindu scale ; second, the extraordinary number of the Hindu modes ; and third, not only the actual absence, but the future impossibility, of any true harmony based upon the existing scale.

In European music, next to the diatonic scale, the chromatic scale plays the most important part. This scale consists of twelve notes forming the compass of an octave, the intermediate notes being got by the method of multiplying the vibrational ratio of any note by a constant quality, in order to determine the vibrational ratio of the next higher note. This is what is known as the method of equal temperament. This is supposed to be an attempt to diminish the excessive number of notes within an octave, which lead to great complications. Thus was the temperate scale formed, where all the notes of an octave are reduced to twelve only, which are considered equi-distant to each other. European musicians believe that this scale has made practical execution on instruments more easy. It has been a much debated question as to whether the Hindu scale of twelve notes is one of equal temperament. There seems to be every reason to think that this is not so. As regards the temperate scale, which plays such a predominant part in modern harmonic music, it may be said that some, at least, of the greatest musicians and critics do not consider it as the best available scale. Professor Blaserno remarks that "the temperate scale has become generally accepted ; it has so come into early use that, for the most part, our modern executant musicians no longer know that it is an incorrect scale, born of transition in order to avoid the practical difficulties of musical execution. . . . It would certainly be very desirable to return to the exact scale, with a few difficulties smoothed over to meet the requirements of practice ; for it cannot be denied that the temperate scale has destroyed many delicacies, and has given to music, founded on simple and exact laws, a character of almost coarse approximation. . . . It must be

concluded that our harmony founded on the temperate scale is also very defective. It follows that music founded on the temperate scale must be considered as imperfect music, and far below our musical sensibility and aspirations. That it is endured, and even thought beautiful, only shows that our ears have been systematically falsified from infancy." The same writer continues in a note appended to the above that "Cornue has lately made some most ingenious experiments, in which he measured directly the number of vibrations per second of the notes produced by good singers and violin players, whilst they executed a pure melody with the greatest possible care. He found that they made use neither of the exact nor of the temperate scale, but of a scale differing but little from the Pythagorean; from which he concludes that the Pythagorean scale ought still to be looked upon as the scale of melody, whilst our modern scale must be considered as the scale of harmony. . . . The fact, however, is very interesting in itself, and merits careful examination. It demonstrates a certain tendency in us to select the Pythagorean scale in melody, and gives a very natural basis to the melodious music of the Greeks. . . . I will therefore end this chapter by expressing the hope that the temperate scale will eventually be abandoned. It has had its day, and has no longer any real *raison d'être*. Man is capable of a much finer class of music than that preferred at the present day. I say this without considering the different schools which at present divide musical Europe, since these considerations hold good for all. But those who consider that the musical province of Italy is to cultivate and develop melody ought to be the first to try for and to favour such a reform. Singing would gain enormously by it, and a melodious form of music accompanied by simple, quiet chords—much more, music formed by several voices—would be enormously increased in value by means of such a reform." Helmholtz found, by experiments with Herr Joachim, that this distinguished

violinist, in playing the unaccompanied scale, took the just and not the tempered intervals. He further observes that, "if the best players, who are thoroughly acquainted with what they are playing, are able to overcome the defects of their school and of the tempered system, it would certainly wonderfully smooth the path of performers of the second order in their attempts to attain a perfect ensemble if they had been accustomed from the first to play scales by natural intervals." So much for the temperate scale.

Now we come to a very interesting part of the subject. What is the *Sruti* scale? On what scientific basis does it rest? In fact, whether it is scientific. The theory of *Srutis* forms an intricate part of the Hindu system of music. It is, however, surrounded by a halo of mystery which it is not very easy to unveil. Opinions had considerably differed among musicians themselves. For more practical purposes, three different theories can be recognised. The system of twenty-two *Srutis* is the one which is commonly received. A few were of opinion that the octave could be divided into sixty-six intervals. This would not look strange if we for a moment consider the various musical instruments invented with all possible tones for the requirements for just intonation. General Thompson, Messrs. Bosanquet, Poole, Liston, and others, have tried to utilize harmoniums and organs constructed on this principle for musical purposes. They proposed as the intervals for an octave forty, fifty-three, thirty-six, and fifty-eight just tones. The sixty-six intervals into which the octave was divided by some Hindu musicians may have had a similar origin. A few of the early Hindu musicians assumed that the intervals could be infinitely multiplied. This seems to have been the view also of more than one European theorist. It was probably after many such trials that the system of twenty-two *Srutis* was finally pitched upon. Different names were given to the intervals as forming the series. This series consisted of semi-tones, one-third, and quarter-tones. Almost every nation evinces a predilection

for certain minute intervals by employing them in preference to others. The Hindus have chosen a *Sruti* as the smallest possible interval appreciable by the ordinary ear. Helmholtz says : "What is the smallest interval admissible in a scale? is a question which different nations have answered differently, according to the direction of their taste, and perhaps also according to the different delicacy of their ear." Europeans have expressed their undisguised hatred for these very minute intervals, being naturally accustomed to their diatonic scale. Here again it is purely a question of taste. "The construction of the musical scales," says Carl Engel, "is not entirely dictated by physical laws, but that it rather has its source in taste. As in former centuries we have had scales different from those in use at the present day, so likewise there will undoubtedly be different ones in future ages. Whenever the taste of a nation undergoes considerable reform, new scales—or, at least, modifications of the existing ones—are likely to arise as a natural consequence." Larger intervals are easy to grasp, while smaller intervals require education and constant hearing as the only means of familiarizing them. To the question whether the human ear can distinguish such fine gradations Helmholtz replies : "To distinguish small differences of pitch and intonate them with certainty requires a greater amount of technical musical power and cultivation of ear than when the intervals are larger. That many Oriental nations (such as the Arabs, the Persians, the Hebrews) have used such small intervals shows that their appreciation does not pass beyond the limits of human comprehension. They have been accustomed from their youth to accommodate their ears to the intervals and all the finer shades. Such delicate differences in the intervals became necessary for the varied gradations of expression of their music." The peculiar nature of Oriental music necessitated the use of small intervals, such as quarter-tones. The "interlaced singing" of the East, where the voice does not skip from one full tone to another in entire purity, but where one note

merges into another by traversing the whole interval, requires a detailed gradation of small intervals. The following remarks of Carl Engel are fully justified in our everyday experience. He says: "In the vocal performances of several Eastern nations we meet with a certain disposition to connect two intervals at some distance from each other by slightly touching the small intermediate intervals. The singing of the Jews in the synagogue is generally of a similar character. Where the taste is developed it naturally leads to the adoption of quarter-tones or one-third tones. Likewise the ancient Greeks, Assyrians, as also the Arabs and modern Egyptians, made use of one-third tones." He might have included the Hindus as well.

It has been stated above that the Sruti scale (the enharmonic of the Hindus) has intervals too small to be appreciated by the European ear, which has been accustomed to larger intervals. But critics whose extensive knowledge of national music entitles them to a high place in the world think that the use of small intervals, instead of detracting from the beauty of music, actually enriches it. Here again it is Carl Engel who says that "the admission of intervals smaller than semi-tones might, in my opinion, also contribute to the greater perfection of our music. True, we possess a so-called enharmonic scale, but it exists only in theory, and not in practice, for, although we cannot in our musical notation substitute, for instance, in the key of G major, G flat for G sharp, or in the key of the B major, B flat for B sharp, without offending against the recognised laws of musical grammar, there is in the performance generally no difference made between the intonation of F sharp and G flat, A sharp and B flat, and the like enharmonic intervals. Such delicate gradations of sound would, however, greatly increase the impressiveness of certain melodies, especially of such as are intended to express a tender sadness and longing. We certainly do not greatly feel at present the want of these minute

intervals, because our ear has become accustomed to accept for two different ones one tone, which is neither exactly the one nor the other. To an Arab or Egyptian musician, whose ear has been trained to discover one-third tones, our division of whole tones into two unequal semi-tones—a large and a small semi-tone—must naturally appear very unsatisfactory. If our ear is disqualified for appreciating the effect of intervals smaller than semi-tones in our music, the defect arises in general, not from want of ability, but from neglect in cultivating our natural powers. . . . Smaller intervals than semi-tones are, however, sometimes actually made use of by our musicians. The singer not unfrequently gives, by means of them, a peculiar charm to his performance. Celebrated solo performers on the violin do the same.” Professor Blaserno writes to the same effect: “Certain musical niceties—as, for example, the somewhat different character possessed by the different keys—find their most natural explanation in this greater variety of musical intervals.”

For the purpose of representing the *Sruti* scale, an instrument known as *Sruti Vana* was constructed, which showed the intervals according to this scale. It is not, however, known whether this was used in actual practice; but it seems to have been intended to accustom the learner to the smaller intervals, which explained the nature of what are known as *gamakas* or “graces.” Quarter-tones explained the “blending of shades” between notes, which is as peculiar to this music as the “colourings” are of the Greek music. The distinct names given to the intervals of this scale were calculated to elucidate the delicate blendings in musical language. They have been elaborated with great attention to accuracy. Some European musicians thought that this scale might, like the diatonic scale, be one of equal temperament. But there is no evidence to establish this view. Captain Day observes: “The Indian scale intervals ought to be understood as they are explained by native writers—namely, as a tone, a  $\frac{3}{4}$ -tone, and a  $\frac{1}{2}$ -tone

composed of 4, 3, 2 Srutis respectively. With this conception of intervals—and it must be borne in mind the  $\frac{3}{4}$ -tone is still approved of in the East—a division of the octave into 24 equal  $\frac{1}{4}$ -tones became impossible. For as it was essential to secure an approximately perfect fourth with 9 Srutis and a fifth with 13, the division of the octave by 22 was the only one available. The error in the fourth of 9 equal Srutis of a 22 division is no more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  comma, in melody scarcely noticeable, but the error in a 21 or a 23 division could not have been easily tolerated. The Srutis thus being a little wider than exactly equal  $\frac{1}{4}$ -tones, 54 $\frac{1}{11}$  cents instead of 50, the Indian gramas in most intervals come near to those of our just intonation scales, but this resemblance is accidental, as the foundation is different."

The second ground of objection which I shall now consider is as to "the extraordinarily large and fluctuating number of the Hindu scales." A scale, as has been already shown, is a series of intervals on which the music of a nation is based and which indicates the peculiar character of a system of music. It is always the product of the musical activity of the nation. It marks the standard of a nation's progress. The number of scales in actual use in different nations at different periods of their history is by no means small. It is the outcome of natural causes, and primarily owes its origin to the surcharged emotions of the heart. But it is natural taste that is at the bottom of the selection of such scales, which are brought into existence by "artistic invention." "But just as people with differently directed tastes can erect extremely different kinds of buildings with the same stones, so also the history of music shows us that the same properties of the human ear could serve as the foundation of very different musical systems." Two chief causes are mentioned by Engel for the existing variety of scales generally. The first, he says, is that "in some instances the peculiar construction of some favourite musical instrument has caused a predilection



for a certain progression of intervals." This very well applies to our music. It will not be far from truth to observe that the peculiar characteristics of our music are to be traced to the stringed instruments which they invented at an early period. The use of small intervals and their "deflections" unmistakably point to the influence of stringed instruments of the kind of *Viva*. The gamakas peculiar to this system can be explained satisfactorily on this hypothesis. The second cause is more cosmopolitan, and ascribes it to the difference in the temperament of the nations and tribes inhabiting different parts of the globe. The climatic difference which makes one nation active and another dull and phlegmatic will account for the fact why one nation prefers its own scales to others of other nations. A grand modern orchestra appears confusing to one unaccustomed to it.

Is it scientifically objectionable in a system to have a large number of scales as compared with the modern one? One may as well condemn a language having a large number of letters. The absurdity of it will be patent when we consider that both owe their origin to a remote antiquity, when utilitarian and practical considerations alone led to their early development. Science came later on to systematize the laws on which they were based. Hindu music has had the misfortune of being subjected to criticism by men who held diametrically opposed views. One finds fault with it for having an extraordinary large number of scales. And Mr. C. B. Clarke, a critic of a different school, in a former issue of the *Calcutta Review*, commenting upon the thirty-six modes of the Bengali music, says that "this number (thirty-six) does not by any means exhaust the combinations which may be selected of seven out of twelve." If this critic had taken the trouble to examine the Southern Indian system, he would have found that there all the possible scales that can be derived of seven out of twelve of the chromatic series had been devised, and that this system is based upon such a classification.

The number of modes of seven notes that can be derived out of twelve is seventy-two. We have here seventy-two Melakartas, or parent modes, which form the basis of the system. Of these only thirty or thirty-two Ragas, and secondary Ragas, derived from those, are most popular. It will be seen that the number of scales is not so large as to make it highly unscientific, if number alone constitutes a science. Although only two scales are employed in European music, many other scales are incidentally brought into actual use for the purpose of modulation, the important difference being that accidental notes are more frequently used there than in Oriental systems, where the notes of a given scale are strictly adhered to, and are not deviated from throughout the execution of a piece. In this way the number of scales actually employed by European musicians may be very large, but so long as variations succeed each other rapidly, and are finally merged in the major or minor modes, they appear to be far less than those actually used. Even granting that a large number of scales is employed in Hindu music, no reasonable person would take objection on this ground. Such an argument lacks logical force and reasonable conviction.

I now come to the last ground of objection—viz., the absence of harmony from Hindu music, and its future impossibility upon the scale. I have shown in the beginning that taste determines the preference of one system of music to another. Harmony is the characteristic of modern European music. Notwithstanding the generally acknowledged superiority of harmony over melody, heated controversies have been going on among the learned as to their comparative merits. It is well known that Rousseau and some others were of opinion that music is not really improved by the use of harmony. The former produces various arguments to prove that it is a barbarous Gothic invention. Dr. Burney thought that, "notwithstanding the dependence of melody upon harmony and the sensible

influence which the latter may exert upon the former, we must not, however, from thence conclude, with some celebrated musicians, that the effects of harmony are preferable to those of melody. Experience proves the contrary." Some think that "the modern melody has not the merit of the ancient, and that harmony is used with the view of compensating for its poorness, and diverting the attention of the audience from perceiving the barrenness of genius." Captain Willard's opinion "that melody is the production of genius and harmony of art will not, I believe, be disputed; nor that the former is more generally comprehended and relished by mankind than complicated harmony." Harmony in the modern day has become a necessity as the result of instrumental orchestras. Where instruments have not been developed to the extent that it has been done in the West melody is still predominant, and exercises the greatest influence on mankind in general. A critic in the *Edinburgh Review* writes: "The Greeks had the good taste to prefer the bright and unadorned beauties of a simple melody to music groaning under the weight of full accompaniments. . . . We have always thought that the gratification exerted by a simple air well sung is far higher than any pleasure arising from the most learned concerts performed with all the noise and vehemence which the combined force of the most accomplished musicians in the world is capable of producing. The skilful adjustment of the different parts, the happy arrangement of concords and discords, producing by contrast the most striking effects, the appropriate combination of instruments according to the species of the music, the passion to be excited, or the feeling to be expressed—all this undoubtedly will afford to the man of musical science a treat of a very high relish. But it is only the man of skill who can duly appreciate it; it is only he who can hear all those combinations, and, without being bewildered and distracted, that can attend to their relative bearings one upon the other. Upon the generality of listeners very

much of these is thrown away; they feel much as the modern assembly would do if an orator were to address them in Greek: they would be sensible that his periods flow away very smoothly, or in language that appears practical and sonorous, but they would understand mighty little of his argument." While such has been the opinion of critics who had ample time and learned opportunities to form a reasonable opinion of the effects of harmony, it is unfair to criticise the Hindu system for absence of harmony. Hindu music is peculiar to the soil of the country, and is deeply cherished as a means of enjoyment by its people. It is unreasonable to judge of its merits by the standard of modern harmony. Captain Day remarks: "For that Indian music is an art, and a very intricate and difficult one too, can hardly be denied. But to appreciate it one must put away all thought of European music, and then judge of it by an Indian standard, and impartially, upon its own merits—of the ingenuity of the performer, the peculiar rhythm of the music, the extraordinary scales used, the recitation, the amount of imitation, the wonderful execution and memory of the performer, and his skill in employing small intervals as grace." Harmony is a recent growth, and its native soil is Europe. It is not likely to thrive on any other soil. Hindu music does no more become unscientific for want of harmony than European music for want of Raga. Melody and harmony may be said to be moving in parallel lines. It is almost impossible to improve this music on harmonic principles, for the reason that many of the modes are not susceptible of harmonization. Unless its national character is to be dispensed with, it should be preserved as it is, without any serious changes. Any change that may be contemplated must be attempted only on national lines.

To summarize the above. Superficial and narrow-minded critics who are deficient in that breadth of view and superior comprehension—qualities necessary for a dispassionate estimate of a subject—are the very persons who are easily

prone to minimize the importance of the study of national music as a factor in the critical examination of musical systems, and to place too high a value on that system in which they were brought up, and which has all the attraction born of long experience : they would construct systems on procrustean lines by tethering them down to a common standard, without taking into account the conditions of their origin, growth, and development. Harmony is the latest offspring of modern genius. Whether it has any absolute scientific value apart from its other characteristics has been often called in question by men whose judgment no prejudice can supplant. The temperate scale has been the boast of the modern musician. But here again opinions have considerably differed. Though suited to purposes of harmony, no melodic system has ever adopted it, thereby confirming the view that the Pythagorean scale is the scale of melody, while the temperate scale is the harmonious scale. That the Hindu scale is not one of equal temperament has been repeatedly emphasized. To characterize a scale as unscientific simply because it is unsuited to harmony is like blaming the Indian rat for being black simply because the European rat is white. The Hindu scale has been developed for melodic purposes, and should be judged from the standpoint of melodic effectiveness. Again, a necessity for harmonization of melody has dispensed with smaller intervals, while retaining large intervals, such as semi-tones. But in a system of singing which is well known for its "interlaced" methods, to bring out its fine shades, the use of quarter-tones and one-third tones is indispensable. This does no more become unscientific by the employment of small intervals than the other by the use of large intervals. A comparison between the two is as misplaced as between the Gothic and the Etruscan forms of architecture, which have different purposes to serve.

The number of scales in a system forms purely a question of national taste. The paucity of the modern European scale is due to its having been developed on harmonic

principles ; while the large number in Hindu music is due to the necessity of variation for musical effect. Again, the use of a larger or smaller number of scales more or less depends upon their mode of employment. The distinctive employment of each of the scales by itself in Hindu music exaggerates its numerical importance, while the use of accidentals and modulations of the European music minimize their value from a numerical standpoint. It is not the larger or smaller number of scales which makes a system more or less scientific.

Lastly, the absence of harmony is not really a serious drawback which can be regarded as affecting the scientific basis of Hindu music, the fundamental basis of the two being different. Hindu music is no more to blame than the Indian climate. All attempts at harmonization have proved valueless, for the reason that many records are not susceptible of harmonization, and the difficulty of harmonizing has not a little added to its inaccuracy. Many have testified to the fact that the process of harmonizing impairs the natural beauties of the melodies, whose national characteristics are lost in the process and appear in a new garb, in which they are hardly recognisable. Hindu music must be judged by its own standard. It may not be too much to say that critics who will judge of it in a rational spirit should first acquaint themselves with all its intricate details by creating ample opportunities to study and to listen to its best musicians. If such critics would accord the same liberty as they themselves claim in matters of unfettered criticism, the day will not be far distant when their appreciation of its merits will have become a realized fact, and when it will be regarded as the glorious product of the fertile Oriental mind which has given to the world various arts and sciences which have contributed to its civilizing influences.

## THE ENGLISH IN THE PHILIPPINES.

BY A. FRANCIS STEUART.

ON January 2, 1762, Great Britain declared war on the kingdom of Spain by proclamation, and a fortnight later Spain issued a proclamation with the same intent. The causes of the international quarrel were many, and Pitt had wished to declare war sooner. The King of Spain, a Bourbon, related by blood and sympathy to the King of France, then at war with England, had always shown a disposition to ally himself with the French; therefore when, on August 15, 1761, the two Kings entered into the "family compact," a *modus vivendi* with Britain became more difficult, and at last the latter was forced to the extreme step of engaging in war.

Britain at once decided on attacking Spain in her most vulnerable dependencies, and expeditions were fitted out as soon as possible to attack Havana and the other towns in the Spanish Main. At the same time the British sent another fleet to the East, and it was by them that the Philippine Islands were conquered, and, though for a short time only, were in the position of being a British possession.

The conquest was due to the initiative of Colonel Draper, who had already distinguished himself at the siege of Madras in 1759, and had had the forethought to spend a part of his sick-leave in trying to discover the state of the defences in the Spanish colony of the Philippines. He found them to be much decayed and very ineffective, and he put his information at the disposal of his Government. He was at once sent out to India with orders to fit out an expedition to reduce Manila, and it is the history of the British expedition that we propose to recount.

On January 1, 1762, the King's instructions\* were issued to Brigadier-General Draper, and everything was made ready for war.

\* Hist. MSS. Com., 7th Report, p. 316 *et seq.*

The expedition consisted of the 79th Regiment, a company of Royal Artillery, with 630 seamen and 270 marines—in all, 2,300 men—and these were carried in Admiral Cornish's squadron and two East Indiamen. One ship (the *Seahorse*) was sent on in advance to prevent any Manila-bound vessels reaching the Philippines; one division under Commodore Tiddeman sailed from Madras on July 29, and the rest followed under the Commander-in-Chief on August 1, leaving the *Falmouth* to follow convoying an East Indiaman under Captain William Brereton. The squadron—nine ships of war and two store-ships—stopped at Malacca to take in supplies, and then reached Manila on September 23, to the wild surprise of the Spaniards, who were until then unaware of the state of war, for an English vessel which had entered Manila Bay on September 14 had sailed away after having taken soundings, without allowing any communication with the Spanish officers.

The acting Governor of Manila, the good Archbishop Don Manuelo Antonio Rojo, immediately despatched reinforcements to Cavite, dreading an immediate attack, and then sent an officer as envoy to the Commander of the squadron to demand the intentions of his force.

The English officers were deputed on the next day by Admiral Cornish and Brigadier-General Draper, and, coming on shore, they stated that they "had orders from the King of Great Britain to take possession of these islands, and they demanded an immediate surrender; for if any resistance were made, having a force sufficiently formidable to attain the object in view, they should commence hostilities as soon as they received an unfavourable reply." The Governor replied that, being loyal subjects of Spain, they must defend the honour of their Sovereign with their lives. Accordingly, as no negotiations were entered into, the English force (the 79th Regiment), under cover of the *Argo*, the *Seahorse*, and *Seaford*, landed at Malata under General Draper, Colonel Monson, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, and Major More. On October 25 the English captured



the "polverista," or powder magazine, and took possession of the churches of Malate, La Hermita, San Juan de Bagunbayan, Santiago, and the dwelling-houses near at hand. The Spaniards were almost powerless; they had only the *Regimento del Re*, a very weak body of about 800 men, commanded by the Brigadier-General, the Marquis of Villa Medina, and they could do little to oppose the enemy; they made a sortie, however, against them, but were beaten back, and the merchants hastily got together four companies of militia in the town. Next day the attacking force landed a battalion of seamen, but were attacked by 400 of the Spanish regiment under the Chevalier Fayett, a Frenchman in the Spanish service, with two field pieces. Colonel Monson, however, easily drove them back within the shelter of the fort, in spite of the assistance given to them by a body of 800 "Indians," as the Philipinos were then styled, armed with lances. All next day the desultory fighting continued, and some damage was done on both sides, the English fire, however, being very harmful to the town. An unfortunate incident (the first of many) then occurred. Lieutenant Fryar, an English peace envoy, was murdered by the Indians with a prisoner (the Archbishop's nephew), whom he was escorting back to the Spanish lines. The Governor of Manila, who had the day before disclaimed responsibility for the barbarities of the "savages," again disclaimed this atrocious deed, and Draper adds: "As it was evident that the Indians alone were guilty of this horrid piece of barbarity, our soldiers showed them no mercy."\* The bombardment continued for the next four days, interrupted only by a terrible storm at sea, which the Archbishop of Manila instantly hailed as a sign "that the Angel of the Lord was destroying the British ships like Sennacherib," but which did not stop their preparations for the assault. On October 4 a large force of about 1,000 Indians made a fierce attack on the English seamen's cantonment. "They advanced up to the

\* Draper's Journal, *London Magazine*, 1763, pp. 212-222.

very muzzles of our pieces, repeated their assaults, and died like wild beasts, gnawing the bayonets." The British strongholds—the churches—were also attacked, and before they were driven off, Captain Strachan, of the 79th, was killed, along with forty privates. After this sanguinary conflict, the Spaniards, who left 200 for dead on the field, held a Council of War with the Governor. The military authorities at once recommended a capitulation, knowing their weakness, but they were overruled and branded as traitors by the clerical and civilian party in the fort. That night one of the officials, Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, escaped from the city, and we shall soon hear of him again.

Shortly after this Council of War had been held, the views of the Spaniards received a rude shock by the news coming that the British had already entered the city! During the 5th a breach had been made in the walls of the city; forty French prisoners from Pondicherry had filled up the ditch in the night, and on the 6th Lieutenant Russel, of the 19th, and sixty volunteers, led the way, followed by Major Fell, with 400 soldiers, and stormed the city; they opened the Royal Gate, and Draper's force entered. "Colonel Monson and Major More were at the head of two grand divisions of the 79th, the battalion of seamen next, supported by the other two divisions of the 79th; the company's troops closed the rear." There was little resistance. One body of Spaniards and natives, surrounded in the guard-house over the Royal Gate, refused to surrender and were put to the sword. The officers of the garrison were less staunch and laid down their arms, the Marquis of Villa Medina being admitted prisoner on parole; but 300 of their followers at Cavite mutinied against their leaders and escaped. The British lost the brave Major More by an arrowshot, and Captain Sleigh, of the Grenadiers, with thirty privates, were among the wounded. The Archbishop now forbade further opposition, and presented himself before Draper on his knees at the palace. He was raised immediately, and the terms of capitulation discussed, which included "free

exercise of our religion, the security of private property, free trade . . . and continuation of the powers of the royal audience to keep order among the ill-disposed." These terms were signed, and, the fort being surrendered, the British flag was hoisted with enormous applause.

That was the first day of the British occupation, but their troubles soon began. The Indians began to commit such excesses, and being, as Cornish wrote, though undisciplined, and armed only with lances and bows, yet "by a daring resolution and contempt of death" very troublesome, guards had to be placed at the convent of Santa Clara and the other religious houses. The city was then given over to pillage for three hours; but "there was no reason to complain of the English soldiers, as they were sufficiently moderate in comparison to what generally takes place on such occasions," and when on the next day the Archbishop represented that plunder was still going on, the General issued an order to cease the looting on pain of death, enforced the capital penalty by hanging some Chinese robbers, and killed one by his own hand. He also ordered the church property to be restored, but little was found except some church vestments in the hands of the sepoys. On October 6 Cavite was given up, and a capitulation of the islands was arranged. The British demanded \$4,000,000; of this, \$2,000,000 was to be paid in specie, and bills (which were never paid) for the other two millions drawn on the Royal Treasury of Madrid. The Archbishop undertook to pay a million dollars down, but the money in the hands of the provincial friars was difficult to extract, and the silver plate, rings, and pectoral cross which the Archbishop surrendered with the church ornaments only made up \$546,000. The capitulation was opposed by the Royal Fiscal, Señor Viana, and Señor de Anda was still at large with the title of "Visitor and Lieutenant-Governor," ready to be a thorn in the flesh of the British. General Draper tried conciliation, however, and, to gain the Indians if he could to his side, renounced their tribute, permitted

the friars to return to their convents, and persuaded the Archbishop to make an Englishman Corregidor of Tondo. After this he started for Europe. It may be well here to mention the rewards the leaders of this expedition obtained when they returned home. Cornish was created a baronet and Draper a K.C.B. The latter presented the colours taken at the capture of Manila to the Chapel of King's College, Cambridge, of which University he was a member, and each received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. The capitulation money was mainly paid over to the East India Company.

Before Brigadier-General Draper left for Europe he appointed, on November 2, 1762, one Dawsonne Drake Governor of Manila, and Major Fell Commandant. The former was an unfortunate nomination, as he had "never had any command in the army nor [possessed] military rank of any degree,"\* and with him the command of the troops is described as "a hell too severe to be endured by human nature."

Owing to this unfortunate appointment, the troubles of the conquerors came thick and fast. Don Simon de Anda summoned an opposition Council at Bulacan, supported by the authority of the friars, and, asserting that the other officials and the Archbishop were prisoners of war, proclaimed himself, and was acknowledged, Governor of the Islands; for this the British Council declared him "a seditious person" worthy of capital punishment, and pronounced the Austin Friars traitors. The internecine war began—on the English side a hunt for the friars' treasure and repelling the Indian onslaughts, on de Anda's side a war of aggression. The English commander was Thomas Backhouse, styled in Zuniga's history "Don T. Becus," and his force only 500 men, and the only signal success was the submission of the Sultan of Sulu, and the discovery of money buried in the garden of the convent which the Austin Friars had abandoned.

\* Calendar of Home Office Papers, 1760-1765, No. 1866.

The English were assisted by the Chinese Christians in their own peculiar way. They had a scheme to murder Simon de Anda in the Bacalor church on Christmas Eve. The plot was betrayed two days before, and Anda, defeating two detachments of them, ordered all the Chinese in the islands to be hanged, "which orders were put into execution very generally, but where the order had been disregarded he readily overlooked this omission."\* Somewhat earlier in December Diego de Silang, an Indian Christian, raised a revolt against de Anda in Bigan, and was made Alcade Major by the English, but was murdered later, in May, 1763, by a Mestizo named Vicos, favourable to the Spanish rule.

On January 18, 1763, Captain Islay, of the Grenadiers, with a small force and some Chinese auxiliaries, attacked the fortified convent of Bulacan, which was defended by the Spaniards Bustos and Eslara and the warlike friars. A sanguinary fight ensued, but, sending his men back to Manila, by 600 Sepoys from Manila he was able to defeat his adversaries completely, and to burn the church and convent.

Admiral Cornish again got restive about the long-delayed payment of the promised \$2,000,000, and threatened to plunder Manila a second time. The unfortunate Archbishop again was forced to draw new bills on the Madrid Treasury; their troubles increased with de Anda's popularity. Bretana, a French sergeant, escaped to him, and Villa Corta was sentenced to be hanged for communicating with him. The Archbishop wrote to him to entreat him to save his friend, but his virulent reply was burned at the hands of the common hangman by order of the English, and Villa Corta bought his life for \$2,000 from the venal Governor Drake.

The next few months contain notices of only petty conflicts against de Anda's followers and the Indians, and futile quests for the gold contained in the galleon *Philipino*, an object of great interest to the English, but which was

\* Zuniga's "Historical View of the Philippine Islands," translated by John Maver, London, 1814, ii., p. 211.

cleverly carried from place to place until it was taken to Santo in Pampanga by sea. On July 23 the English frigate arrived, bringing, what everyone must have hoped for, the preliminaries of peace, and this was confirmed by another on August 27; but both were of little avail, as de Anda absolutely refused to treat with the English unless addressed as "Captain General of the Philippines"!

But we have no idea of the misery the English garrison were in during this time. We are told that the four councillors appointed by the Presidency of Fort St. George left Manila very soon for Madras, "being quickly tired of their President, Mr. Drake." New ones were named "out of the lowest of the Company's servants . . . who treated H.M.'s orders and servants with contempt." Again, "it was remarkable in their promotion of Governors that they passed the eldest councillor, Mr. Henry Parsons, he unfortunately having some appearance of goodness in his disposition." Major Fell quitted his command in November to complain of Admiral Cornish, who had ordered the execution of M. Faller, the Frenchman, for corresponding with the Commandant of Batavia; the latter was protected by Governor Drake, and a fearful quarrel ensued, Thomas Backhouse succeeding to the command.

On January 30, 1764, the long-suffering Archbishop died, and, de Anda receiving news by way of China that peace was proclaimed, a new possibility of understanding came in sight, and this must have been pleasing to the English, who were "almost reduced by famine," by which Governor Drake tried to enrich himself by speculations in rice, strongly opposed, however, by the Provost-Marshal Spearing. Drake's extortions are thus described: "Spaniards, Mesteezes, Chinese, and Indians were shut up in his many prisons, their crimes (if any) only known to himself. Such of the poorer sort as could not raise money purchased their liberty by a gold chain begged from the neck of some female relation; most of the women of Luconia wear chains to which they hang crosses, relics, charms, and even these

simple badges of religion could not escape the miserable Governor and his emissaries."

On March 8, 1764, the *Revenge* frigate arrived at Manila, bringing the definite treaty of peace, and orders from Admiral Cornish to Captain Brereton to deliver Manila. Now that the poor Archbishop was dead, Don Simon de Anda was bound to be the proper person to hand the conquest over to as "Head of the Royal Audience and Commander-in-Chief"; but they had still the recalcitrant Governor Drake to deal with. On March 18, however, Señor Don Francisco della Torre arrived from Mexico with the Viceroy of Mexico's commission as "King's Lieutenant," and at once the loyal de Anda resigned the government into his hand.

The approaching peaceful termination of hostilities was marred at this juncture by the conduct of Drake. He quarrelled with Backhouse and had the latter arrested, and, although unwell, confined in a small hot room. Feeling he had gone too far, however, on March 29 Drake escaped in the *Admiral Pocock* early in the morning, and Backhouse resumed liberty and power. The cautious Drake, we are told, "when he saw the time of his departure approaching," packed up "all the furniture of the palace, some of which belonged to the nephew and heir of the late Archbishop and Governor, and the remainder to the Governor for the time being. The rooms were stripped of their sconces, lustres, and laced hangings, the cushions of state were carried off both from the palace and chapel, the velvet curtains were packed up and marked outside "Rice for Governor Drake."

With Drake's departure all difficulty ceased. The two Governors, Backhouse and Brereton, worked together admirably, and the Spaniards commended them for having "behaved like men of honour and Englishmen." They issued a manifesto saying that they would give compensation for wrong done, and Villa Corta recovered his "blood money"; other claims were "satisfied with justice and

equity," and a perfect understanding arrived at with the King's Lieutenant, who it was fortunate had a kindly feeling for the English on account of their "politeness and handsome treatment," which he could not forget, when he had been their prisoner in Cuba. He was "indisposed" on April 1, 1764, and therefore it was to his deputy, Don Simon de Anda y Salazar, that Manila was given up. The British troops marched out of the Sea-gate, and the reinstated Spanish authorities accorded to them all the honours of war. They took with them the two "traitor" Frenchmen (Faller was afterwards murdered at Tonquin), and obtained toleration for their Chinese allies who survived, and, sailing away, arrived at Batavia "in a sickly condition" on July 20, and left the Spaniards in full possession of the Philippine Islands until the Spanish-American War.



## THE ATTEMPT MADE BY KUBLAI KHAN TO CONQUER JAPAN.

BY E. H. PARKER.

HISTORY only records one attempt to conquer Japanese independence by forcible means, and the results to the invaders were so disastrous that Russia may well think twice before she determines to hoist the Czarish eagles over the Mikado's palace gate. (*Mikado*, by the way, actually means "The Sublime Porte.")

It came about in this wise. Kublai Khan, the first Mongol Emperor of China to reign at Peking, and Kameyama, the (so-called) ninetieth Emperor of Japan, both came to their respective thrones in the year 1260. But at this period not only were the Mikados mere puppets in the hands of the Shōgūns, but the Shōgūns themselves were puppets in the hands of the Regents, or *Maires de Palais*, of the Hojō "dynasty." The Mongols had just reduced Corea to a tributary status, when certain obsequious Coreans in Kublai's employ suggested to him that the way was now also open to Japan: this was in 1265. In the autumn of 1266 selection was accordingly made of a chief envoy, whose name, as it usually appears in Chinese character, is exactly the same as that of Sir Robert Hart, and whom therefore, in order not to obscure the subject with uncouth names, we shall henceforth designate as "Hart." Kublai's letter to Japan (of which two separate copies are given in Chapters VI. and CVIII. of the Mongol History) sets out with the usual Chinese platitudes about the historical duties of small States; explains how a new Mongol dynasty has conquered All the Chinas (a term never including New or South China); how rebellious Corea has been forgiven and once more cherished; how Japan is a mere historical corollary of Corea; how Japan had for 600 years past had relations with previous Chinese dynasties; and how her present apparent neglect

to do her vassal duty is probably due rather to ignorance of *faits accomplis* than to wilfulness of purpose. A piece of unmistakably Chinese logic winds up the epistle: "The sages of antiquity have always declared all men within the four seas to be of one family; but if there be no communication of good-will, where do family principles come in? If things are suffered to tend towards war, how *can* there be good-will? King! think well on't!"

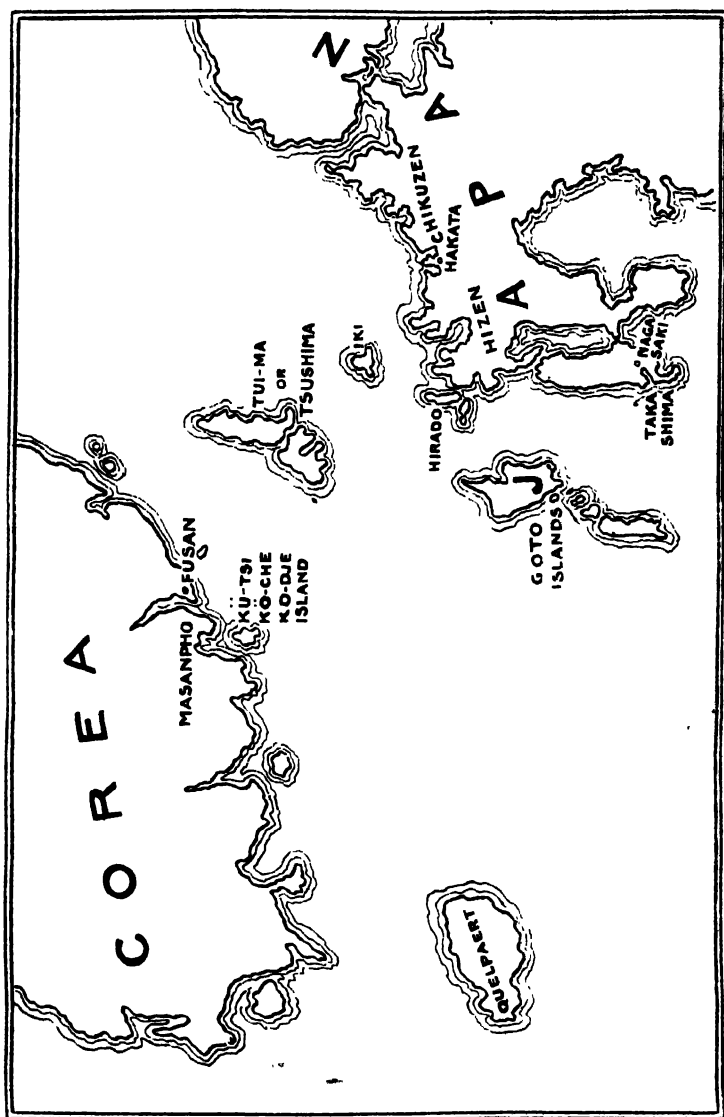
The King of Corea, who had meanwhile been instructed to show the road to the Mongol mission, provided it with two high officers as escort. In 1267, however, Hart and his staff returned to Peking from their wanderings, *re infectâ*, faithfully accompanied by their Korean guides, whose explanations as to why the goal had not been reached were by no means satisfactory to Kublai. The whole party was despatched once more to Corea, carrying with them to the King positive instructions "to succeed better this time."

The wily King of Corea now adopted another tack. He pleaded that the sea-route was beset with dangers to which it would be unseemly to expose the person of an Imperial envoy, but he accommodately sent the Emperor's letter on to Japan by an envoy of his own. This Korean envoy was detained half a year by the Japanese, but he had also to return empty-handed. Meanwhile the King of Corea sent his own brother on a special mission to Kublai, to endeavour to mollify His Tartar Majesty.

In the autumn of 1268 Hart and his former assistant colleague were sent a third time. As a surveying-party had meanwhile been examining the sea-route by way of Quelpaert Island, the mission was enabled to reach the Tsushima Islands this time; but the local authority would not suffer them to land, or at least to stay; nor were the letters accepted, as, in the opinion of the Japanese, "the phraseology was not considered sufficiently modest." Once more the unsuccessful mission returned to Peking, but on this occasion it was with two Japanese "captives"—

probably spies ; for there is plenty of evidence that even then the art was well understood in Japan. In the summer of 1269 it was resolved to utilize these captives as a peg whereon to hang the conciliatory and virtuous act of returning them. Coreans were entrusted with this mission ; but even this letter the Japanese declined to receive, and the envoys were detained a considerable time in the official prisons at Dazai Fu (in Chikuzen).

Early in the year 1270 a Manchu Tartar in Kublai's employ, named Djuyaoka, who had already been employed as a kind of resident or adviser at the Court of the King of Corea, was despatched on a solemn mission to Japan, having earnestly volunteered for this new service in spite of his gray hairs. The King of Corea was again ordered to assist, and a Corean in Chinese employ, named Hung Ts'a-k'iu (Marco Polo's Von-Sanichin), was told to demonstrate with a fleet around the Liao Tung and Corean peninsulas. The envoy is usually called by his adopted Chinese name of Chao Liang-pih. The mission landed in the spring of 1271 at an island called Golden Ford, which, according to the Chinese characters, ought, I suppose, to be pronounced Kananari in Japanese. Here the strangers met with a very rough reception. The Tartar, however, kept his head well during the various attempts which were made to frighten him ; he pointed out the historical precedents to be found in the annals of previous Chinese dynasties, and firmly declined to surrender his credentials except at the chief seat of government, and to the King or ruler in person. It seems that even the Japanese now began to see that the "honest broker," Corea, was playing false to both sides ; at all events, they said that "Corea had reported the imminence of a Chinese attack, whereas Kublai's language seemed to deprecate war." Officials from headquarters explained that "from ancient times till now, no foreign envoy has ever gone east of the *Dazai Fu*." The reply to this was : "If I cannot see your ruler, you had better take him my head · but



you shall not have my documents." The Japanese pleaded that it was too far to the ruler's capital, but that in the meantime they would send officers back with him to China. He was thereupon sent back to await events at Tsushima, and having remained there a year, he arrived back in Peking in the summer of 1273. In escorting him to Tsushima, the Japanese had sent with him a number of secondary officials to have an audience of Kublai; it appears that the Japanese had been alarmed at the establishment of a Mongol garrison at Kin Chow (I suppose the one near Port Arthur, then within Corean dominions); and the Tartar envoy, during his stay in Tsushima, now sent on these Japanese "envoys" (or spies) in advance, advising Kublai at the same time to humour Japanese susceptibilities by removing the Kin Chow garrison. The Cabinet Council suggested to Kublai that it would be a good thing to explain to the Japanese envoys that the occupation of Kin Chow was "only temporary," and would be removed so soon as the operations now in process against Quelpaert were at an end. It is related that the "Japanese interpreters" (which probably means Chinese accompanying the Japanese) explained to Kublai that it was quite unnecessary to go round *viâ* Corea, and that with a good wind it was possible to reach Japan in a very short time. Kublai said: "Then I must think it over afresh." Late in the year 1273 the same Tartar envoy was once more sent to Japan, but it is not stated by what route or where he first landed; this time he really reached the *Dazai Fu*, or capital of Chikuzen. In that same year, and possibly in connection with the above mission, a Chinese general, Liu T'ung, with a force of 40,000 men in 900 boats, defeated 100,000 Japanese; it is not stated where. I am inclined to think from the consonance of the word *Liu* and the 900 boats that this must be the affair mentioned lower down. The Manchu Tartar envoy seems to have been a very sensible sort of man, for not only did he bring back with him full details of the names and titles of the Mikado

and his Ministers, descriptions of the cities and districts, particulars of national customs, local products, etc., but he also strongly dissuaded Kublai from engaging in a useless war with Japan ; and he also gave some excellent advice to the celebrated Mongol General Bayen, who was just then preparing to "finish off" the southern provinces of China. It may not be generally known, but it is a fact that Bayen himself in the late autumn of 1273 had been originally destined for the Japanese expedition, and the prisoners captured at the *first* attack on Siang-yang Fu (Marco Polo's Sa-yan Fu) had already been handed over to him for service in Japan. The Mongol History also gives a full copy of the letter sent to Japan on this occasion. In it Kublai expresses his surprise at the persistent ignoring by Japan of his successive missions ; he charitably suggests that "perhaps the fresh troubles and revolutions in Corea, which have now once more been settled, are more to blame than your own deliberate intentions." The menace of war was a little stronger than in the letter of 1266, but was still decently veiled and somewhat guarded. Before starting, the Manchu had requested that the etiquette to be observed at his audience with the ruler might be laid down. The Cabinet Council, to be on the safe side, advised : "As the relative ranks prevailing in the country are unknown to us, we have no definite etiquette to specify." On the other hand, both Kublai and his Ministers were much too sharp to believe in the power of the "guard-house west of the *Dazai Fu*," and they came to the sensible conclusion that the Japanese "envoys" were simply war-spies sent by the supreme Japanese Government itself.

Chinese history does not explain why, amid the conflicting counsels exposed above, and others mentioned in biographical chapters, Kublai decided to attack Japan at the very moment when Bayen was marching upon South China ; but, any way, during the year 1274 large numbers of Manchus were raised for service in Japan, and placed under General Hung. (*Sanichin* may perhaps stand for

the Chinese word *tsiang-chün*, or "general.") It appears that, towards the end of that year, 15,000 men in 900 ships made a raid upon some point in Japan; but, although a "victory" is claimed, no details whatever are given beyond the facts that "our army showed a lack of order; the arrows were exhausted; and we achieved nothing beyond plundering." The three islands raided were Tsushima, Iki, and one I cannot identify, described in Chinese as *I-man*.

The Japanese annals confirm the attack upon Tsushima and Iki, adding that the enemy slew all the males, and carried off all the females in the two islands, but were unsuccessful in their advance upon the *Dazai Fu*. The enemy's general, Liu Fu-hêng, was slain; the enemy numbered 30,000. (The slain officer was, perhaps, a relative of Liu T'ung, who served again in China.)

In the year 1275 two more envoys bearing Chinese names were sent with letters to Japan, "but they also got no reply." The Japanese annals confirm this, and add that "they came to discuss terms of peace, but their envoy, Tu Shî-chung (whose name corresponds), was decapitated." This is true, but he was not decapitated until 1280, and, as is well known to competent students, Japanese history is always open to suspicion when it conflicts with Chinese, and too often "touches up" from Chinese.

In 1277 some merchants from Japan appeared in China with a quantity of gold which they desired to exchange for copper "cash." The following year the "coast authorities" (probably meaning at Ningpo and Wênchow, where even now, as I found in 1884, immense quantities of old Japanese copper cash are in daily use) were instructed to permit Japanese trade. But preparations for war still went on, and the headquarters of the army were fixed at Liao-yang, where General Kuropatkin fixes his now (May). Naval preparations were particularly active during 1279, and Corea was invited to make arrangements for boats to be built in that country, where timber was so plentiful

—evidently alluding to the Russian “concessions” on the Yalu. Large numbers of ships were also constructed in Central China. During this year a defeated Chinese general in Mongol employ, named Fan Wên-hu, advised that the war against Japan should be postponed “until the result of our mission, accompanied by the Japanese priest carrying our letters, shall be known.” When this priest was appointed, by whom, and to do what, there is nothing to show. To a certain extent this enigmatical sentence is supported by the Japanese annals, which announce that “in the summer of 1279 the Mongol generals Hia Kwei and Fan Wên-hu came and sent aides-de-camp to the *Dazai Fu* to discuss peace, but Tokimune (the Regent) had them decapitated at Hakata in Chikuzen.” ‘Hia Kwei was certainly another defeated Chinese general, but I do not think he ever went to Japan: this is probably a “fake.” It is in the spring of 1280 that the Chinese record the execution by the Japanese of “Tu Shî-chung,” etc. But it is quite evident that Fan Wên-hu cannot possibly have been executed in 1279, for later on, in 1280, after Hung Ts’a-k’iu and others had been appointed to the Japan expedition, “it was decided to wait a little, and Fan Wên-hu was consulted as to the best means of attack: meanwhile prisoners of war, criminals, Mussulmans, etc., were enlisted, and volunteers were called for.” It is difficult to account for “Mussulmans” in such company, for the villainous “Saracen” Achmat was just then at the height of his power. The King of Corea meanwhile personally paid a visit to Peking, and gave the assurance that he was raising 30,000 extra soldiers to serve in the Japan War. Fan Wên-hu was now placed in supreme command of 100,000 men. “The King of Corea, with 10,000 soldiers, 15,000 seamen, 900 warships, and 110,000 cwt. of grain, proceeded against Japan. Hung Ts’a-k’iu and his colleagues were provided with weapons, Corean armour, jackets, etc. The troops were given strict instructions not to harass the inhabitants of Corea. Corean



generals received high rank, and the King was given extra honours."

In 1281 the generals Hung Ts'a-k'iu and Hintu (a Ouigour Turk) went in command of a naval force of 40,000 men *viâ* "Kin Chou in Corea." Another force of 100,000 men was sent across the sea from (modern) Ningpo and T'inghai, the two forces arranging to meet at the islands of Iki and Hirado. A-lou-han (a Mongol) and Fan Wên-hu received in anticipation the honorary titles of "Left and Right Governors of Japan province"; and when they and the other generals took leave of Kublai, the Emperor said: "As they had sent us envoys first, we also sent envoys thither; but then they kept our envoys, and would not let them go; hence I send you, gentlemen, on this errand. I understand the Chinese say that when you take another people's country, you need to get both the people and the land. If you go and slay all the people, and only secure the land, what use is that? There is another matter, upon which I feel truly anxious—that is, I fear want of harmony amongst you, gentlemen! If the natives of that country come to discuss any matter with you, gentlemen, you should join your minds for one common plan, and reply as though one mouth only had to speak."

When the army, after a week's sail from T'inghai, reached the islands of Kû-tsi (off Masanpho) and Tsushima, some Japanese stranded fishermen were caught and forced to sketch a map of the localities; and meanwhile it had been agreed that the island of Iki was a better rendezvous than "Kin Chou in Corea," on account of the then prevailing winds. From the Japanese sailors' sketch it appeared that a little west of the *Dazai Fu* was the island of Hirado, which, being surrounded on all sides with plenty of water, afforded a good anchorage for the ships, and was, moreover, quite unguarded. It was decided (subject, apparently, to Kublai's approval) to occupy Hirado first, and then summon General Hung, etc., from Iki, to join in a general attack. Kublai replied by messenger: "I can't judge here

of the situation there. I presume Alouhan and his colleagues ought to know, and they must decide for themselves."

Meanwhile Alouhan (written also Alahan) had fallen sick; and died at Ningpo, and another Mongol, named Atahai (written also Antahai), was sent to replace him. Now comes the sudden collapse of the whole expedition, recorded, unfortunately, in most laconic and unsatisfactory terms.

I give the various extracts *in extenso* :

1 (Chapter on Japan).—Eighth moon. The generals, having before coming in sight of the enemy lost their entire force, got back. They said that, "having reached Japan, they wished to attack the *Dazai Fu*, but that a violent wind smashed the ships. That they were still bent on discussing operations, when three of the commanders [Chinese names] declined to accept their orders any more, and made off. The provincial staff conveyed the rest of the army to Hoh P'u [probably = Masanpho], whence they were dismissed back to their homes." But one of the defeated soldiers, who succeeded in escaping home, gave the following account: "The imperial armies in the 6th moon put to sea. In the 7th moon they reached Hirado Island, and then moved to Five Dragon Mountains [the Japanese pronunciation would be Go-riu Shima, or Yama, and perhaps it means the Goto Islands]. On the 1st of the 8th moon the wind smashed the ships. On the 5th day Fan Wên-hu and the other generals each made selection of the soundest and best boats, got into them, and abandoned the soldiers, to the number of over 100,000, at the foot of the hills. The soldiers then agreed to elect the centurion Chang as general in command, and styled him 'General Chang,' submitting themselves to his orders. They were just engaged in cutting down trees to make boats to come back in, when on the 7th day the Japanese came and gave battle. All were killed except 20,000 or 30,000 who were carried off prisoners. On the 9th day these got to the Eight Horn Islands" [the Japanese pronunciation would be Hakkaku Shima], where

all the Mongols, Coreans, and men of Han [=North China] were massacred. As it was understood that the newly-recruited army consisted of men of T'ang [=Cantonese, etc.], they were not killed, but turned into slaves, of whom deponent was one. The trouble arose from want of harmony and subordination in the general staff, in consequence of which they abandoned the troops and returned. After some time two other stragglers got back; that is, out of a host of 100,000 only three ever returned.

2 (Chapter on the Ouigour General, Siang-wei).—In 1281 the sea-force of 100,000 men under Fan Wên-hu, etc., took seven days and nights to reach Bamboo Island [the Japanese pronunciation would be Chikushima; perhaps it is another form of Tsushima], where they effected a junction with the forces of the provincial staff from Liao-yang. It was the intention to first attack the *Dazai Fu*, but there was vacillation and indecision. On the 1st day of the 8th moon a great typhoon raged, and 60 or 70 per cent. of the army perished. The Emperor was furious, etc.

3 (Chapter on Li T'ing, a Shan Tung man, who was on Fan Wên-hu's staff).—In 1281 the army encamped on Bamboo Island, but, a storm arising, the vessels were all smashed. Li T'ing escaped ashore on a piece of wreckage, collected the remains of the host, and returned *viâ* Corea to Peking. Only 10 to 20 per cent. of the soldiers escaped alive (apparently referring to the 40,000, not to the 100,000).

4 (Chapter on the Chih Li man Chang Hi).—He accompanied Fan Wên-hu and Li T'ing with the naval force which crossed the sea against Japan. Chang Hi, on arrival, at once left his boats, and set to work entrenching on the island of Hirado. He also kept his warships at anchor at a cable's length from each other, so as to avoid the destructive action of wind and waves. When the great typhoon arose in the 8th moon, the galleons of Fan and Li were all smashed; only Chang Hi's escaped

uninjured. When Fan Wên-hu, etc., suggested going back, Chang Hi said: "Half the soldiers are drowned, but those who have escaped death are all sturdy troops. Surely it is better for us to take advantage of this moment, before they have begun to think regretfully of home, to live on the enemy's country and advance?" Fan Wên-hu, etc., would not agree to this, and said: "When we see the Emperor, we will bear all the blame; you have no share in it." Chang Hi gave them a number of his boats. At that instant there were 4,000 soldiers encamped on Hirado Island without any boats. Chang Hi said: "How can I bear to leave them?" And he then jettisoned all the seventy horses in the boats in order to enable them to get back. When they got to Peking, Fan Wên-hu, etc., were all disgraced. Only Chang Hi escaped punishment.

5 (Chapter on Ch'u T'ing, an An Hwei man).—He was with Fan Wên-hu's force when the sudden storm arose. His craft was smashed, but Ch'u T'ing got hold of a piece of wreckage, and drifted about for three days and three nights, until he fell in with Fan Wên-hu's ship at a certain island, and was thus able to get to Kin Chou in Corea. The soldiers encamped in the Hoh P'ü bay also drifted in, and were collected and taken home by him.

(Chapter on Hung Tsün-k'ü, *alias* Hung Ts'a-k'ü, a Korean of ancient Chinese descent).—[After recounting how Kublai placed him in charge of the well-disposed Korean troops, how he served in the Korean and Quelpaert campaigns, and against Japan in 1274 and 1277, the Mongol History goes on:] In 1281, in company with Hintu [a Ouigour], he led a naval force of 40,000 men *via* Kin Chou and Hoh-p'ü in Corea to join the 100,000 men coming by sea from Ningpo under Fan Wên-hu. Forces were joined at the Iki, Hirado, and other islands of Japan; but, before the hostile forces were encountered, in the 8th month a storm smashed the ships, and he returned.

(Extract from Japanese *Riokuji*, or Historical Handbook.)—In the 5th moon of 1281 the Mongols raided us

on a wholesale scale. Our troops were unsuccessful in resisting them at Iki and Tsushima. The enemy advanced and occupied Five Dragon Mountains in Hizen. The Hōjō *tandai* led the troops bravely to the fight. The enemy retired upon Takashima. In the intercalary 7th moon, a great wind blew. The enemy's warships were all broken to pieces. Our troops energetically attacked and cut them up, the sea being covered with prostrate corpses. Of the Mongol army of 100,000, only three men got back alive. Henceforward the Mongols were unable to pry about our coasts again. [Stein is wrong in saying that Hōjō Tokimune defeated the Mongols. In 1279 a new generalissimo was created, bearing the title of "*tandai* for the west," and another of the Hōjō family received the appointment. *Tandai* is a bastard Chinese word invented for the occasion.]

\* \* \* \* \*

It may be of interest here to see what happened to the founder of the Chinese dynasty of Ming, after the Mongols had been driven out "bag and baggage" from China in 1368. He was no sooner seated on the throne than he sent a Sub-prefect of but moderate status, named Chao Chih, to try and bring the "King of Japan" to a sense of duty. The supposed King was apparently the Shōgūn Yoshimitsu, of the Ashikaga family. The Chinese call him "Liang-hwai," which means "Good embosom," whereas the true Chinese characters used by him (*I-mih*, pronounced or rendered in Japanese "Yoshi-mitsu") also mean "Good fill;" and we may conclude, therefore, that the Japanese did what the Annamese did in this and other diplomatic matters—they used fictitious or garbled names in corresponding with China. The Chinese envoy was admitted by Liang-hwai to audience, and received the following reply to his homily: "Although our country lies to the east of Fusang [the mythical Ultima Thule of the Chinese Far East], we have always shown a proper admiration for China. However, the Mongols, though

as much barbarous as ourselves, wished to make serfs of us, to which my royal predecessors would not submit. They then sent us an envoy of the name of Chao [*i.e.*, Djuyaoka the Manchu, who adopted the Chinese name of Chao Liang-pih], and he beguiled us with his smooth talk; but the words were scarcely out of his mouth, when 100,000 men were drawn up in array on our shores. Thanks to the helping hand of Heaven, the raging elements annihilated these armies at one swoop. A new Son of Heaven is now Emperor over China, and the celestial envoy is once more surnamed Chao. May you be a descendant of that Mongol, then? Are you also going to beguile us with fine words, as he did, and then surprise us?" He then made a sign to his attendants, who looked as though they were about to knife him. But Chao Chih kept quite cool, and calmly said: "Our sacred, august, martial, and polished Son of Heaven of the Great Ming Dynasty is not to be compared with a Mongol; nor am I a descendant of the Mongol envoy in question. You have the power to knife me; knife me!"

The story goes that Yoshimitsu was mollified at this spectacle of bravery, and even accepted a vassal status. But Japanese piracies followed. The Emperor, perceiving that the Japanese were "Buddhomaniacs," conceived the idea of getting moral influence over them, like the Tibetans, through priests. The nine dynasts of Japan and the independent *daimyōs* who sent "tribute" without respectful "addresses" rather puzzled him. Finally, remonstrances were addressed both to the "King," Liang-hwai, and to the Shōgūn, which exact term is now first actually used by the Chinese. Liang-hwai (whoever he was) replied sarcastically as follows: "Your subject understands that, from the time of the ancient Emperors [of Chinese history] it is only China that has had a *dominus*; but surely we barbarians may at least have our princes? The vast expanse of heaven and earth is not subject to the control of a single *dominus*. The immense spaces of the world are for all countries to share

alike. In other words [what the Chinese call] the '*orbis terræ*' is an *orbis terræ* of the *orbis terrarum*, and is not the *orbis terræ* of one single individual. Your subject dwells among the distant and feeble Wo [the ancient name for "Japanese"], in a small and contracted country. Our cities and moats scarce number sixty, and our territory does not cover 3,000 *li*; and yet we have learned to be content with our lot. Your Majesty is the *dominus* of China, the prince of 10,000 chariots [*i.e.*, of Imperial rank], whose cities and moats number several thousand, and whose domain covers millions of *li*; and yet you are not satisfied, and are always devising schemes of extermination. Now, when heaven evinces baleful omens, the starry bodies shift their places; when the earth does the same, dragons and snakes crawl over the land; when man does so, heaven and earth go topsy-turvy. In the good old times of the [Chinese] Emperors Yao and Shun, people came with homage from all parts. When the Emperors T'ang and Wu [of China] exhibited their virtuous qualities, tribute poured in from every quarter. I understand that the Celestial Court has acts of war in view: well, my poor country has also its own ideas of how to resist. In the civil department we possess the texts of Confucius, Mencius, and the *Tao-têh King* [of Lao-tsz]. In the military department we possess the strategical works of [the celebrated Chinese authorities on war] Sun Wu and Wu K'i. Again, I understand that your Majesty, having selected the most effective of military lieutenants and raised the finest of troops, contemplates an attack upon your subject's territory; in which case, of course, both our meadow-lands and our mountain isles in the sea will make every adequate preparation. Surely it cannot be expected that we shall receive the invading host submissively on our knees by the roadside? Such tame acquiescence would as insecurely preserve our existence as stout resistance will necessarily cost us our lives. Your subject is by no means afraid of staking for a little gamble in front of the Alashan Mountains

[apparently in allusion to the fearful thrashing the Chinese received about A.D. 1060, when they made a rash and unjust attempt to conquer the little Tangut Empire]. Should the Prince conquer and the subject lose, well, then, the State Above will get all it wants. But should the subject conquer and the Prince lose, the shame of it will be for our small country to bear as we can. From ancient times peace has always been the wisest course, and abstention from fighting the best thing, thus obviating the butchery of the innocent people, and rescuing the poor folk from misery and suffering. For these reasons I now send a special envoy respectfully to present himself below your Majesty's throne, and it is I who trust the State Above 'will think well on't.'" When the Emperor received this address he was very much incensed ; but, taking warning by Mongol experiences, he never took any warlike steps.

Probably for the same reasons the present Manchu dynasty has always given the Japanese a wide berth. Even before they had completely conquered China, the Manchu chieftains ordered, in 1637, that trade with Japan should continue. In 1710 coast officials were warned by the Emperor to be considerate to Japanese traders, and thus avoid provoking piracies, such as vexed the Ming Emperors. There are allusions to Japanese swords, shipwrecked seamen, Japanese copper ; and also to the above-mentioned Japanese cash in circulation at Wênchow, dating from Mongol times. With these exceptions Japan is never once seriously mentioned between 1640 and 1870, and not once politically at all.



## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Wednesday, May 18, 1904, a paper was read by Frank Birdwood, Esq., on "The Empire's Greatest Commercial Asset." Ernest Cable, Esq., in the chair.

Among those present on May 18 and 25 were: His Highness the Aga Khan, G.C.I.E., The Lord Reay, G.C.I.E., LL.D., The Right Hon. Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., M.P., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., M.P., Sir Patrick Playfair, C.I.E., Sir Thomas Wardle, K.B., F.G.S., Mr. Leslie Probyn, Mr. Joseph Walton, M.P., Mr. H. A. Beauchamp, C.I.E., Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., Colonel Pilcher, Mr. and Mrs. Durant Beighton, Mr. Alexander Rogers, Mrs. Frank Birdwood, Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Miss Campbell, Miss Macgregor, Miss A. Smith, Mr. Perozshah Jewanji, Mr. R. H. Elliot, Mr. Leigh Hunt, Mr. F. H. Skrine, Mr. John Pollen, LL.D., C.I.E., Mr. C. W. Whish, Mr. Peter Donaldson, Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. J. S. McConechy, Chowdhry Dhuleep Singh Sharma, Mr. E. D. Digby, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. Parmeshwar Lall, Dr. Roberts, Dr. Gray, Mr. H. R. Cock, Mr. J. Brewis, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. Percy Browne, Mr. F. W. Taylor, Mr. A. Dillon, Mr. Segar, Mr. W. Goodwin, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. D. N. Samson, Mr. C. M. Kenworthy, Mr. M. D. Daru, Mr. N. N. Wadia, Mr. J. Wadden Black, Mr. B. Rose, Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced the lecturer, his paper was then read.\*

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and gentlemen, I think it perhaps may be convenient if I take this opportunity of making a few remarks upon Mr. Birdwood's most interesting and able paper, in order that any suggestions which occur to me may also form the subject of your criticisms. We may at once, I think, discard from our inquiry all such well-established industries as cotton, jute, tea, coal, etc., for when any further capital is required for them plenty of local money, chiefly British, is obtainable. But this local capital being fully engaged upon the development of established industries, and native capital not being forthcoming for new ones, how, then, can such new industries be started? That, I think, describes the state of affairs in a few words, and brings us to the inquiry before us. It is a question which we may expect that the Government of India will put to the commercial community directly they succeed in establishing their Commercial Department, and therefore it is as well that public attention is now being drawn to the whole matter. I notice that Mr. Birdwood blows both hot and cold upon Government aid to private enterprise, and I am left in doubt whether on the whole he prefers to be State aided or not. If you invoke and succeed in obtaining direct State aid, you must, of course, put up with certain drawbacks and checks. Governments all the world over have their own methods of business. And the

\* See paper elsewhere in this *Review*.

great difficulty is to determine the point at which State aid ceases to be beneficial and becomes a hindrance. I imagine that the feeling of a British investor towards direct State-guaranteed enterprise in India might be a feeling of suspicion, for the presumption is that any industry that is dependent on State aid is not good enough to stand on its own merits. I make this statement more in the nature of inquiry, because I am not in touch with British investors, and I hope this statement of mine, if challenged, will form the subject of debate also. Then, again, Mr. Birdwood suggests that the Government should become promoters. That, of course, is a very remarkable suggestion, but upon the whole I am inclined to think it would be an undesirable procedure, even supposing that the Government should be induced to take up that position, for if Government-promoted concerns fail in their career, a very heavy blow would be dealt both to the credit of the Government and to Indian industries in general. However, I do not think we need seriously consider that question at all, for I am convinced that the Government would not go so far as to become promoters in the ordinary acceptance of the term. I am inclined to think, however, that much might be done by systematic State aid in various manners. At present, and particularly under the existing régime, as I am glad to be able to state from personal knowledge, the Indian Government are doing more to assist private enterprise. I was particularly glad to hear Mr. Birdwood admit this in his paper. Directly the new Commercial Department, which we hope may be sanctioned, is in operation, we may look for a declaration of policy, and it appears to me that the example should be followed by India as far as possible which has been set by Canada and other dependencies, who systematically make known, by pamphlets and otherwise, the resources of their countries in order to attract both labour and capital. I hold in my hand a letter from a man interested in Canadian enterprise, who promised to give me a large number of examples of the way in which the Governments of British Columbia and Canada do this; but unfortunately he was only able to give me one or two examples because he had not time to communicate with his friends, but he gives the following instances in this letter: First, in order to promote dairy-farming, experts are provided at Government expense to teach the newest and best processes; second, for stock-rearing sires are provided at a nominal cost; third, a bounty is given on all steel billets made in the country; fourth, for exploration of mineral districts boring plant is lent free. All this is interesting as far as it goes, because it is an indication of what Governments can and will do. India and its resources appear to be so little known in comparison with our other possessions that the investor or promoter may well be excused if he fights shy of putting his capital into an unknown land, and knowledge of this sort can best be disseminated by State advertisement. But do the Government of India themselves know the resources of their land, and are they in a position to invite capital with confidence? This brings me to another requirement, which is that the Government should experimentally exploit new and promising fields for capital and labour in the interests of their population at large. Such exploitation is being carried on to some extent already in a tentative fashion, and I would advocate that it should

be done systematically and regarded as a legitimate function of the State. In a few words, then, it appears to me that the Government should first ascertain the resources of the country in various new branches of industry, whether by boring for minerals or by erecting trial plant for the manipulation of products, and should then, by whatever means may be considered best, bring the prospects of any new successful ventures, such as those indicated in the paper we have heard, to the notice of British capitalists. I am of opinion that that is the limit at which State aid may at present profitably be employed, and beyond that limit I fear that its co-operation may be harmful, except, perhaps, in certain special cases where bounties might be necessary. In my remarks I have made no mention of railways. They are on a separate footing, and if the present terms are not a sufficient inducement for the attraction of capital, the matter will no doubt be favourably considered by the new Commercial Department and the suggested Railway Board, if we are so fortunate as to obtain both. We have still two years before us of the present energetic régime of the Government of India—two years during which I am confident that any well-considered suggestions by the mercantile community for the quicker development of India will receive the most attentive and favourable consideration. Let us hope, therefore, that during these two years both ourselves and the Government of India will have arrived at some definite idea as to the best policy to adopt in the matter to secure its effective initiation.

MR. JOSEPH WALTON said his personal interest in India had been shown by his visiting the country and obtaining information on the spot from those best able to inform him. The British nation had reason to be proud of its great Empire, and judging from what he had seen on his different visits, though no doubt a few mistakes had been made, and would be made, yet, on the whole, the highest credit was due to the officials. India was one of the most striking instances of the successful government of a subject race. He had been there twice during times of famine as the guest of the Viceroy, whom he was glad to welcome at Charing Cross the day before yesterday and to see looking so well. He found him working early and late in the most self-sacrificing fashion, and from the highest to the lowest the officials had devoted themselves to alleviating the terrible distress. He had specially studied the question of railway development and the construction of irrigation works. When he was first called to India there were only some 12,000 or 13,000 miles of railway; he rejoiced to know that there were now some 27,000 miles. They were told by experts that 50,000 or 60,000 miles were adequate for the supply of all the Empire's needs, and he hoped the Government would be induced to give still greater encouragement to the construction of a number of feeder lines in order to develop the area of country capable of wheat-growing. He hoped that in a few years we should be able to obtain more wheat from India. We could not buy the products of India to the same extent as foreign nations, but of wheat we could take largely increased quantities, in return for which India would take greater quantities of manufactured goods from us. Speaking generally, there was no question of the success of railway and irrigation works in India, and as with a population of three hundred

millions, increasing annually, such undertakings were bound to become increasingly profitable, the British investor need feel no hesitation. He agreed with what had been said both by the chairman and the lecturer as to the importance of having further information circulated in regard not only to the present undertakings and industries of India, but also in regard to possible new enterprises. He was very sorry to see that a further tea duty had been imposed. Two years ago, when twopence was imposed, they were told by the Chancellor of the Exchequer that it raised the duty to 75 per cent. of the value of tea, but that it was purely a war tax, and would be soon repealed. Next year, however, a fresh tax was imposed; he therefore felt it his duty to oppose this further twopence, and he was sure that many in the House took the same view. He had taken the opportunity of visiting the various gold-fields, and of seeing the iron and steel works and the tin mines of Central and Southern India, and in this direction there was certainly abundant room for extension. They all rejoiced to know that the present condition of India was satisfactory and that no famine existed, and they could, he thought, look forward hopefully to an era of greater prosperity. Agreeing with Lord Curzon that the staff of officials administering the affairs of India was quite inadequate to the duties they had to discharge, he believed it would be true economy to increase the numbers in the various departments so that the work of administration might be more vigorously and carefully carried out.

H.H. THE AGA KHAN, in the course of his remarks, said: On many grounds I gladly respond, Mr. Chairman, to your request to speak on this occasion. Having been associated with you, sir, on the Viceregal Legislative Council, I am well aware of your deep and sustained interest in all questions affecting the industrial and commercial progress of India, and your presence in the chair while a member of the Birdwood family speaks to us on "The Greatest Commercial Asset of the Empire" constitutes a most happy combination. The honoured name the lecturer bears has been a household word in Western India for generations, and I am sure that the educated public in India will pay considerable and respectful attention to views enunciated on so important a subject by a son of Sir George Birdwood, who did so much to inspire the business enterprise, patriotic benevolence, and æsthetic taste which have transformed Bombay into one of the most beautiful cities of the East, and who, during the many years of his service at the India Office, did signal service in promoting that industrial expansion the further development of which has been the object of the paper. Not only has Mr. Birdwood clearly proved that much remains to be done, he gives detailed particulars to show how it can be done. It is for business men rather than for one like myself to pronounce on the details of the scheme he has unfolded; but I may say that, regarded in broad outline, his plan appears to me eminently practicable and reasonable. Mr. Birdwood's desire to attract a larger outflow of British capital to India must have the sympathy of most of us, for there can be few present who hold the extraordinary and mischievous doctrine that British capital is injurious to the country, since it involves a "drain" in the form of payment of interest. This so-called "drain" is

infinitesimal compared with the benefits conferred upon India, and especially upon the masses of the people, by the work and the circulation of money the employment of such capital gives. I recognise, however, that there is a great need for increased Indian co-operation both in capital and brains in the beneficent work of utilizing the vast economic resources of the country. Lord Curzon, than whom we never had a Viceroy more consistent and practical in his advocacy and support of economic progress, has again and again urged that both British and native capital is required for fuller development. As his lordship said shortly after arriving in India, "native capital is somewhat shy, and requires to be coaxed." For my part, I trust that Mr. Birdwood's proposals will be launched in adequate time for his lordship, during the all too brief period of renewed tenure of his exalted office, to do a little "coaxing" on some such lines of Government co-operation as those suggested in the paper. The great need, however, is for British and Indian co-operation along the lines of private enterprise. It is to be regretted that the vast majority of educated Indians pass by the avenues of usefulness open to them in industrial and manufacturing directions to take their chance of gaining Government employment, or to swell the overgrown ranks of law, medicine, or journalism. That their energies are almost entirely absorbed in these directions, and that so few of them devote their talents to business enterprise, is an unsatisfactory state of affairs. There are a few welcome signs of improvement in this respect, however, and the new tendency will, I doubt not, be stimulated by the provision made by Lord Curzon's Government for the grant of industrial scholarships tenable in Europe or America. But the improvement comes far too slowly. In saying this I have not the slightest desire to blame or sit in judgment on my fellow-countrymen, nor do I forget how large a share of the mill industry of Bombay—to take a single example—is in native hands, this being mainly due to the business enterprise and resource of the Parsee community. My object is rather to point out that what has been done by one race and in one place can be done by other communities and all over India, given like enterprise and adaptation to modern commercial methods. I can speak on this point with some confidence, for I have the honour to belong to a very progressive community of the Moslem world in matters of business. Long before the benefits of Western education were disseminated in India my people were prosperous traders, who did not confine their business ambitions to India, but migrated to the East Coast of Africa and other distant regions, to the benefit not only of themselves, but of the peoples amongst whom they sojourned. They were, to use the lecturer's phrase, "merchant-adventurers," and in their measure they took to distant regions some at least of the benefits which have accrued to India by the modern connection with the West, first opened up by "merchant-adventurers." I fully concur in Mr. Birdwood's opinion that there is now room for a new body of such adventurers. I am greatly surprised to hear that one reason why British capital goes, as Lord Curzon once said, "to the petty and venal republics of the Western hemisphere and the moribund kingdoms of the East" rather than to India, is that many British investors are appre-

hensive of political dangers in the latter country. I am strongly of opinion that external aggression is not to be feared, provided, of course, that adequate military preparation is maintained. As to internal political dangers, I am confident—and I speak from widely-extended knowledge of various classes and conditions in India—that there is no reasonable ground for apprehension. It seems to be forgotten at times how vast are the changes that have been wrought since the dark days of 1857, and how much those changes have contributed to bind up the interests of manifold sections of the population in the peaceful maintenance of the existing order. Those interests are now so vast and varied that rebellion or civil war may be regarded as impossible. And it is clear that every pound of capital invested in the development of Indian resources constitutes an additional guarantee of the stability of the British Administration, which is further guaranteed by the deep and fervent loyalty of the chiefs and peoples of India. I am convinced that British capital invested in India is subjected to no risks other than those which ordinarily attend any commercial enterprise in countries where life and property are abundantly secured. It is because I hold with Lord Curzon that it is not only sound economic policy but good citizenship to desire that India should attract more and more British capital that I heartily support and commend the policy Mr. Birdwood has sketched out, and on the same grounds I have ventured to plead for the active co-operation of my fellow-countrymen. With Briton and Indian thus working together the future will be bright with promise of growing prosperity and contentment.

SIR THOMAS WARDLE said his interests in India had been and were purely philanthropic. His friendship with Sir George Birdwood was of long standing, and during his term of office he had a long correspondence with him in reference to Indian Tussur silk, which many years ago Sir George thought was capable of greater utilization both in India and in Europe. It was his good fortune, in connection with the late Lord Salisbury when Secretary of State for India, to make some discoveries in connection with the successful bleaching and dyeing of this rather intractable wild silk, and the results were shown, in 1878, in the Paris Exhibition at the wish of the King, then Prince of Wales, and President of the India Section of that Exhibition. At that time no silk of that kind was used in Lyons, but the President and French members of the jury of that Exhibition thought they could see their way to a considerable utilization of it. That anticipation had since been realized, for, as compared with nothing in 1878, in the year 1902 4,795 bales had been registered at Lyons, representing 703,000 pounds, while 2,000 bales had been used in the United States, England, and in Germany in that year. Unfortunately, India had not been alive to her interests, and as the demand gradually arose China took up the idea, and for a number of years had supplied by far the greater portion; but as the Tussur silkworm is found all over India, there is no doubt that with proper exploitation the quantity now disposed of might be very largely increased. In 1886 he was asked by the Government of India to report on the silk industry of Bengal, and he then urged the necessity of better reeling from the cocoon,

and that, as in Italy, the industry should be under Imperial control and management. That was attempted, but not in an Imperial way, and he was afraid from what Mr. Birdwood had just told them that the outlook for Bengal silk was not as bright as it might and ought to be. He was still urging in his report to the Government, which would be published shortly, that the same methods should be adopted as were adopted in the Government institutions of Padua in Italy and at Montpellier in France, entirely under the direction of their respective Governments, and of having branch establishments over all the silk-growing districts. At a later time, in 1897, finding that the mulberry-tree was indigenous and abundant in Kashmir, he recommended the Government to commence sericulture there on a practical scale, and attempts under his direction were made to establish the industry. Mainly through Sir George Birdwood, then Special Assistant in the Revenue and Commercial Department at the India Office, the Government of India gave him a free hand, and sent him to Italy and France to purchase silkworms, eggs, and cocoon-reeling machinery. He came back with a purchase of something like £600 worth of eggs, which rather frightened the India Office; but these were so far successful that a further £1,400 worth was requested for the next year, and it was extremely gratifying to be able to report an annual and increased requirement since that time—that last year the sum spent on eggs was between £5,000 and £6,000, the quality of silk produced being most excellent. The manipulation of the reeling of cocoons by the skilful fingers of the Kashmiris was beyond all praise. At present Mr. Colvin, the Resident of Kashmir, was taking an equally successful interest in the industry. When last year he was in Kashmir he suggested that a balance-sheet should be formulated, which had not been done for three years, and a profit was shown of upwards of £40,000. But the profit he did not consider at all the greatest factor. Upwards of 50,000 people were dependent on this industry; many thousands were engaged in cocoon reeling, and ten large filatures had been built by the State at a cost of £50,000. The silkworms were reared in the spring and summer months, and their cocoons brought to the filatures at Srinagar to be reeled, and he had had the satisfaction of hearing from the Maharajah himself that this new industry was a source not only of profit to the State—for it was exclusively a State industry—but an inestimable blessing to the numerous people employed, many of whom had previously been too poor even to buy rice. He was also in correspondence with the Maharajah of Mysore, who was desirous of introducing sericulture into his State. He thought it perhaps might be considered that what he had stated was germane to the subject now under discussion, as showing the industrial possibilities of India under efficient guidance and control, and, *pari passu*, he did not see why similar attempts should not be made in India to extend and greatly increase the growth of cotton. He had mentioned this to the Maharajah of Mysore a considerable time ago, and he had lately received a letter from the Maharajah with the pleasing intelligence that his (the Maharajah's) son had for some time past turned his

attention to the subject, with the gratifying result that now cotton was being produced there of excellent quality.

LORD REAY said he need hardly give the assurance that he entirely agreed with the lecturer as to the extreme importance of the subject, and he would wish them not to forget that the authorities were not entirely remiss in this matter. When he was Governor-General of Bombay the commercial and industrial interests of the Presidency were certainly not one of the least of the concerns with which he had to deal, and with regard to the Civil Service he had always found when he asked advice on any matter connected with industrial or agricultural development, transit or irrigation, cotton and sugar-growing, or the improvement of tobacco, they were only too glad to assist him in his efforts. In addition, he found in the Chamber of Commerce of Bombay a valuable ally for the improvement of the commercial situation, Sir Frank Forbes Adam, the President of the Chamber, being alive to the necessities of India and full of initiative in all directions. He would like also to mention Mr. Theodore Cook, the head of the college at Poonah for training in agriculture and engineering, and he was happy to think that the idea that technical education was just as important as education in Sanscrit and the classics was gaining ground in India. The case of Mr. Bose, of Calcutta, whose scientific attainments had been recognised by the leaders of science in England, showed there was nothing in the native brain which made it impossible for them to be as eminent in any of the sciences as in Sanscrit, and another example was afforded by the great Japanese nation of what might be done by an Oriental people who took care to study science and the industrial and technical arts. He agreed with His Highness the Aga Khan that the situation in India was absolutely pacific, that credit stood very high, and financial arrangements in India were so admirable that we in England might well envy the condition of the Indian tax and rate payer. He could, therefore, conceive of no impediment to the outflow of capital to India ; but capital, as had been said, ran very much in grooves. As a means of obtaining its fertilizing influence, he thought the best plan would be for the Chambers of Commerce in India to enter into some compact with the Chambers of Commerce in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and invite representatives of the commercial and banking communities to visit India with a view to studying on the spot the opportunities afforded for the successful investment of capital. A report drawn up by such experts would impress the public more than any number of Blue-Books or reports by Government departments. He was not opposing the creation of a commercial department of the Government of India. He thought there should be a commercial member of the Council not taken from the Services, but selected from the commercial community ; but he should be a man who had been successful, and not a man who had been unsuccessful in his own ventures, and to whom payment would be a secondary object. For the development of the arts also they should have the best man they could get. A direction in which capital might well be invested was in the development on proper lines—the old Indian lines—of the artistic talent latent in India without attempting to transform it, but cultivating the natural



taste of the people for Indian art. No doubt, as His Highness the Aga Khan had said, a great deal could be done by the native rulers of India for the development of new industries, and here, again, they ought not to forget what had been done by that very wise ruler, the Gaikwar of Baroda. With their chairman he was a firm believer in the ultimate development of Indian industries, and that there was a great future in India. The great intelligence of our native fellow-subjects there was the most valuable part of our capital. He would admit that the authorities had been guilty of giving to the colleges a one-sided development. As they knew, he was the first in Bombay to start a technical institution, and what was wanted now in India was to have technical institutions to lead the ambitions and the cleverness of our fellow-subjects.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said the lecture was of such general interest, and there were so many people still in the room whom they might hear with the greatest advantage, that he could not help feeling that it might meet with the wishes of the company if the meeting were adjourned. No subject had come before the Association since he had had the honour of being chairman of the Council of such eminent importance and interest, and it would be a good thing to let those who had not yet spoken have a less hurried opportunity of expressing their views. He would also like to say on behalf of the Council how gladly they had welcomed their young lecturer, as the son of a man who perhaps more than any living Englishman, had done good work in developing the industrial arts of India. The name of Sir George Birdwood was always received in an Indian assembly with respect, and they were very pleased now to see his son amongst them. He should also mention with what interest they had listened to His Highness the Aga Khan. What he had read to them deserved the very widest circulation, both as coming from a person of such high distinction, and also by reason of the intelligence and eloquence with which he had expressed his views.

The meeting was then adjourned for a week.

The discussion was resumed on May 25th, Ernest Cable, Esq., being again in the chair.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said: Thoroughly interesting and suggestive as is the paper we have heard read, I do not think that its conclusions will be accepted by those who have the most acquaintance with the industrial development of India. No doubt the introduction of Western capital on a large scale is desirable if it can be profitably employed, but in a country like India progress is slow. It has been retarded by the educational policy of the Government, and until there is created a large class of trained native artisans and engineers, the field for the employment of English capital must remain restricted. We may leave on one side the suggested education of the capitalist. We cannot educate him. He knows his own business much better than we can teach him, and if India offers him opportunities for profitable investment, he will take advantage of them without any prompting from us. I would directly join issue with the lecturer as to the present want of capital for any

sound commercial undertaking, as the history of the tea, indigo, jute, and cotton industries testifies. It may more reasonably be contended that these are over- and not under-capitalized, and the interest obtained on them is generally low. Until other conditions prevail, to which I will immediately refer, it is difficult to say in what directions, except in railways and tramways, a large increase of capital can be utilized. There is already much English capital in India, and in his survey the lecturer omitted to mention its largest field of employment—in shipping, with insurance and freight. The great shipping lines—the P. and O., the British India, and many others—although their head offices are in London, represent capital employed in and for India as much as if the money had been invested in tea or indigo. As to minor industries, they have been injured or destroyed by Free Trade, and their revival, though possible, must be doubtful and slow. If a capitalist were to apply to our lecturer to-day for an Indian investment of half a million, I do not know where he could place it with the certainty of reasonable profit, and with the further certainty of its sterling value being returned ten years hence; for although the introduction of capital has been stimulated by the steadying of the rupee at a 1s. 4d. value, yet this is not necessarily permanent. Now, when Indian exports exceed the imports there is no difficulty; but the conditions may alter, and, hereafter, it may be as difficult or impossible for the Government to maintain the rupee at 1s. 4d. as it will be for the Russian Government to maintain the rouble at its present value if the war be prolonged. Another financial discouragement to the introduction of foreign capital is found in the great fluctuations in the value of money due to the action of the Government, which is practically the great bank of the country, and has absolute control over the rates of interest. The chief revenue collections take place just after the harvest, when a great deal of money is withdrawn from circulation, and locked up in the treasuries at the very time when there is a great demand for it, in order to move the crops from the interior to the coast or the produce to the manufacturing centres. This matter is deserving of careful consideration. A steady demand is much more likely to attract banking capital than the present system of recurring seasons of undue stringency, followed by a time when no employment can be found for it whatever. In railways the best and largest field for Western capital may be found. What India requires is a vast network of light railways and tramways spread over the whole country far in excess of the resources of the Government. Nor is it desirable that this important work, which should be carried out speedily, should be undertaken by the Government alone. Foreign capital should be invited, and will respond to any amount if fair terms be offered. This is not now the case. The Government seems to grudge the shareholder, the financier, and the promoter more than the most meagre profits, so that an Indian railway scheme will not to-day be looked at in the London market. If the Government, giving a 3 per cent. guarantee, would be content with dividing profits only when the shareholders had received  $4\frac{1}{2}$  or 5 per cent. dividends, abundance of capital would be forthcoming, and the industrial development of India would be rapidly

assured. The last reform, and the most important in stimulating the flow of English capital to India, is a radical change in the system of education. We have been feeding the student on Gray's elegy and Cowper's poems and Herbert Spencer when he should have been taught scientific textbooks in technical schools. We have produced pleaders and politicians and assistant-magistrates when we should have turned out artisans and engineers, foresters, agriculturists, and shipwrights. The Indian is highly intelligent, but he is untrained. This is why manufacturing industries are stunted and feeble, and why they cannot absorb more capital. This is why the cotton and jute manufactories of India cannot compete with the highly-trained operatives of Manchester and Dundee. If we determine to direct our educational energies in this direction, the results will, in a few years, be as astonishing as those which have been attained by Japan; and, indeed, it is to Japan and America that we must look for example. It is no use calling together committees of educationalists and Oxford and Cambridge specialists. This is only a case of the blind leading the blind, for higher education in England is altogether unscientific and unpractical. But let the Indian Government put aside a reasonable sum annually, say £200,000, for foreign scholarships, and send two thousand young men of sixteen or seventeen years of age for a five years' training to England—not in Universities, but in workshops, in ship-building yards, in agricultural schools, in manufactories, and they will return to India able and eager to improve the native industries, and in their turn to teach in local schools and workshops an army of their fellow-countrymen, who will forget the idle dreams of the law-court and the platform for the nobler work of industrial development. Then capital will flow to India, because there will exist the brains and the training which can make it fruitful and increase.

SIR M. M. BHOWNAGGREE said: We could not meet in a gathering like this, and for the consideration of such a subject as engages our attention, without deeply lamenting the death last Thursday of one who was pre-eminently a public-spirited citizen of India, whose many-sided activity for the welfare of that country had perhaps found its best exposition in his endeavour to provide her with the means of developing the unexplored resources of the land. Mr. Jamsetjee Nusserwanjee Tata and his scheme for University Research had for some years past engrossed the grateful attention of all India, and that in itself was a signal proof that the people there had at last become fully alive to the necessity of turning to their own advantage those vast materials with which the country teems by an intelligent application of the methods of arts and science for the purpose of converting them to human utility. Without entering here on the details of that project, it might truly be said that in evolving the scheme Mr. Jamsetjee Tata was entitled to our high appreciation as being himself the author of the best "research"—research in its widest and noblest sense—as devising a method for the general good of India, and as being ready to give it practical form by a munificent endowment unparalleled yet in India for its generous extent. His whole life may be said to have been spent in that research, and it is a serious misfortune for India that that life has closed before his noble ambition to secure the welfare of her future genera-

tions has made an actual beginning. But let us trust that when we reverently consigned his mortal remains to the grave yesterday we did not bury either the hope that he cherished or the energy that he did so much to engender in the minds of his countrymen to preserve to India that full benefit of her natural material resources which can only accrue when her people themselves learn how to manipulate them.

Now, with regard to the lecture itself, I feel I must express my unstinted approval of the manner in which the subject has been handled by the lecturer from the point of view he takes of it. I am not a great believer in heredity, but when I recollect that the author has not lived in India, and that his own professional and other pursuits are not specially connected with that country, I am tempted to believe that he must have inherited from his illustrious father a great deal of sympathy with, as well as a strong grasp of, the economic conditions of Indian life to be able to place before us the result of his study of those conditions in a lecture at once so comprehensive, terse, and instructive. Time will not permit me to make any exhaustive criticism of some of his conclusions, and I shall therefore lightly touch on a few only which seem to require remark or further elucidation. My friend refers to the Excise duty on cotton manufactures, and dismisses it as "not pertinent" to his paper. In my opinion that duty is so utterly unjustifiable, such a hideous iniquity, that one cannot refer to it while considering the subject of the development of Indian industries without stopping to denounce it in the severest terms. Then, in the next paragraph, where he alludes to the jute industry, which he rightly terms a monopoly, he says that a preferential duty thereon would result in India's reaping considerable benefits from it. What I cannot understand in regard to this conclusion is that if a product is a monopoly, and no similar article from elsewhere enters into competition with it, how can a preferential tariff in respect of it do any further good? Perhaps the lecturer will explain this. Further down in his paper, in talking of the large export of cotton-seed, my friend asks, Why should this raw material leave India? Now, that is the real question in respect of most of the raw materials which leave India in such abundance. That is the deplorable fact which is at once the cause of her poverty and the justification of the loud clamour which is heard all round for the improvement of her industrial condition. The answer which Mr. Birdwood suggests to this query is that there is no capital to work these materials on sufficiently large lines, and therefore lucratively. I do not think this is the reason, certainly not the sole and whole cause of India's failure to work on her raw products. The real reason, to my mind, is that the people of India are not trained to intelligent industrial pursuits, and have no opportunities of acquiring that technical knowledge which is essential for usefully and profitably operating on those materials. My friend Sir Lepel Griffin has forcibly dwelt on this circumstance, and I am anxious further to emphasize it. Let us educate the youth in India up to fifteen or seventeen years of age under the prevailing system there, but at that age most of them should be directed into such other channels as might fit them for applying intelligent and scientific workmanship upon their raw materials. The lecturer has suggested that Government should tempt

British capital to flow into India for large industrial undertakings by subsidies and guaranteeing interests. Supposing that were possible, that might induce the British capitalist perhaps to invest in some industrial undertakings. But that would scarcely do any great appreciable good to India herself; and, further, even projects so capitalized would be hampered, and in many cases prove unlucrative, because trained and intelligent labour would be wanting. The exploitation and manipulation of a country's raw materials should be primarily designed for the benefit of its people, and in respect of India under present conditions the chief, almost the entire, obligation that rests upon Government is to so direct and encourage the education and energy of her people as to fit and incite them to strenuous intelligent labour upon such materials as are bundled away to other countries in large quantities at present.

The CHAIRMAN said he thought he should carry the whole of the meeting with him when he said how much he appreciated Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree's very appropriate references to the late Mr. Jamsettjee N. Tata, a personal friend of his own.

MR. J. D. REES, while agreeing generally with Sir Lepel Griffin's remarks, thought it impossible, within the short time allowed to the speakers at the meeting, to deal comprehensively with a subject which covered the whole of the trade and commerce of British India. After all, the chief question was: Why does not British capital flow into India? and it seemed to him that, while Sir Lepel Griffin had stated the main facts, he had not instanced one particular point which more than any other he believed had prevented British capital flowing into India—viz., the restrictions imposed by the Government upon the transfer of concessions. Nothing had tended to make Indian projects more unpalatable in the City of London than these restrictions. The present Viceroy, Lord Curzon, had made many relaxations which had been most welcome, and he believed that in that direction the real remedy lay. Let that policy be continued, and capital would flow more freely into India. With regard to railways, shorter term contracts were required in order to induce the public to invest. Further, in the case of the Native States the interference of the local Government should be eliminated wherever the local Government intervened, as a sort of half-way house between the Native States and the supreme Government. Wherever in any commercial undertaking in a great Native State the local Government had first to be consulted and then the supreme Government, it led to delay and procrastination, and was really unnecessary. The lecturer had very fairly objected to the tea duty. The British Government were imposing now on a product of British labour, grown by British planters with British capital, a tax of 25 per cent. more than Persia at the instigation of Russia charged upon a like product imported into Persia, and that was a very serious thing. He thought the lecturer had very much under-estimated the part played in the production of the world's gold by the Mysore mines. Probably he had not seen the figures. Nor was it clear what the lecturer meant by referring to one of the reefs as having lately become notorious. He probably referred to a recent assay on the life of the Mysore mines, but he no doubt had not seen the utter

refutation of that essayist published in the *Mining Journal* by the greatest authority on the subject, the geological adviser of the Mysore Government. Though knowledge of India was very much needed in commercial circles, the real difficulties were of the nature hē (Mr. Rees) had indicated, and not altogether those indicated by Mr. Birdwood ; for instance, he did not believe that the Government could, would, or should guarantee interest on capital invested in industrial concerns in India, nor that the caste system formed any obstacle to the proper development of the country. That was an entire misconception. Caste was sufficiently plastic to allow of its votaries taking up any occupation they desired.

MR. R. H. ELLIOTT : I should like to make a few short remarks. Just as you cannot say anything worse of a man than that he is shunned by society, so you cannot say anything worse of a country than that it is shunned by the capitalist. The lecturer tells us that India is shunned, while the capitalist goes freely to other countries, and even to the free-booting Republics of South America. There can be no doubt as to the fact. From a long experience of India since 1856 I know the general circumstances of the country. The cry that capital will not go to India is quite universal. Lord Curzon and the Chairman of the Bank of Calcutta have publicly admitted the fact. No one can be more thoroughly aware than Lord Curzon that a more damaging accusation was never brought against a Government. If we inquire into this matter from the beginning we shall obtain a clear view of the whole subject, and be able to see why capital will not go to India, and why, under existing circumstances, it never will go. For twenty years, from 1873, no one ever heard of such a thing as a cry that capital would not go to India. Private capital was then most freely invested in various industries. What is it that has checked the springs of progress just as they had begun to flow ? How is it that while the country has been opened up freely with railways, the state of things as regards the introduction of private capital has since 1893 so immensely altered for the worse ? The only answer is that in 1895 the Government set up an artificial currency system in which there is no finality, because it was authoritatively declared before the Finance Committee that the Government did not bind itself to fix any permanent rate of exchange nor any rate for any particular period of time. In other words, the Government reserves to itself the right to alter the monetary conditions of any exporting business in India at any time. Let me give you a practical illustration of the way that this has acted and is liable again at any time to act. One year, and since the exchange was forced up to 1s. 4d., my property would have yielded a profit if the exchange had been let alone ; but in consequence of my rupee receipts having been reduced by about 25 per cent., owing to the forcing up of the exchange, the property yielded a loss. In recent years the estate has yielded a small profit, but I can have no security that the Government may not again raise the rate of exchange, and once more turn my property into a losing concern or reduce the profit that might be made. There is evidently no finality here, and till you reach that you will never get capital to go to India in any appreciable quantity. The question now arises

How is the necessary finality stage to be brought about? The Government might declare that it would not raise the rate of exchange above rs. 4d., unless in the case of some overwhelming necessity; but the capitalist will not trust the Indian Government. What does it consist of? Practically speaking, about a dozen men, nearly all of whom, either for themselves or their friends, are interested in forcing up the rate of exchange, who actually did force up the rate, and who will do so again when any plausible pretext can be found. It has been said you may rely on the Government not altering the rate of exchange. Remember what Junius said: "What has been done once may be done again. Precedent creates precedent. A number of precedents taken together constitutes law." The capitalist knows this, and turns his back on India, and he will never enter that country again as long as an artificial currency and a rate of exchange not permanently fixed exist. In conclusion, I have only to say that however plausibly the facts I have given may be argued against, such arguments will have no effects on the minds of the capitalists or the producers of India. In a matter of this sort the public are never wrong. By their acts both producers and capitalists have practically told you what their final opinion is as regards India as a field for the capitalist, and it will be a mere waste of time to attempt to argue them out of the conclusions they have arrived at after more than ten years' experience of the currency measure.

MR. W. MARTIN WOOD said that in 1878 there had been an address given with full discussion on this subject in the Bombay East India Association, which would be very instructive if turned up. It was supposed that since that time nothing had been done, but there had really been great progress in developing the industries of India, due to various causes. Indian education had not been quite so stagnant or unsuitable as many people thought. Several of the speakers at the last meeting had complained that the Government of India had done hardly anything in the way of giving information about Indian products. That was an entire mistake. If the merchants of London did not know enough about Indian productions, it was their own fault. Plenty of information could be easily obtained; especially in a series of handbooks prepared in connection with the Indian section of the Imperial Institute. With regard to what can or cannot be done by the Government in the way of fostering commercial undertakings, Mr. Birdwood had suggested that Government should grant concessions far more freely, and guarantee interest on capital; but it must be remembered that the Indian Government is a trustee for its people, with all their resources; and, naturally, has to be on its guard against too eager exploiters. Merchants shrunk from investing in Indian undertakings on account of the small rate of profit, then went and speculated in South America. Though they might gird at the wholesome restrictions which the Government of India put on company promotion in India, capital wisely invested there was secure.\*

\* Mr. Wood also gave subsequent dates with references to several papers and discussions, which are on record and available in the Association's *Journal*, wherein every aspect of these industrial and commercial subjects has been treated and compared by competent writers or speakers.

SIR PATRICK PLAYFAIR, C.I.E.: The subject of the lecture to which we have listened is abstruse, and is associated, as the lecturer points out, with conflicting circumstances. I would, however, hazard the opinion that the chief reason why British capital has not flowed more freely into India for investment is that the returns or profits have not been sufficiently attractive. There is, of course, a certain dislike in this country to silver securities which legislation has not yet completely removed. There has been difficulty in realizing capital invested in India, securities not being liquid. Capital is easily scared by frontier wars, internal riots, plague and famine, and well-intended but somewhat unnecessary legislation to control or protect the operatives in industrial employment (an infinitesimal percentage of the population), if not burdensome, has not inspired confidence. But, admitting these hindrances and drawbacks, there is, or has been in past years, a large amount of British capital waiting employment that would in all probability have been attracted to the industries of India had the returns or profits been considered adequate. The question of interest in this discussion is, Why have these returns continued small? The wants of the people are limited by their resources, which are small. I dwell under the belief that if the greater industries are developed, the smaller and special industries will more quickly arise. But experience with industrial India shows that new industries must be of slow growth, and cannot be established by a magnificent effort on a large scale. The crest of the Calcutta Trades Association, which is the "Busy Bee," is typical, I think, of the success that has been associated with local industries. I consider, therefore, that the larger industries are of first importance, and their development should be jealously fostered. The external trade of the country, which is principally associated with these larger industries, encounters strong competition. I observe in their despatch of October 23 last to the Secretary of State on the subject of the Fiscal Policy the Government of India admitted that, generally speaking, the produce of India, being inferior to that of its competitors in other countries, found a market on account of its relative cheapness rather than on the merit of quality. It is a serious matter, therefore, when new countries such as Argentine are able to compete in cost, their produce being superior. In other words, it must be a direct set-back to India if the frugal Italian peasant of Argentine can place his produce on board ship at as low a cost per ton as the Punjab ryot, and have a cheaper rate of freight (being free of the Suez Canal dues) on the voyage to Europe. It should cause the Government of India to consider the matter very seriously. The rectification would seem to lie with the Government of India, who are the landlords and carriers, and, as such, regulate the cost of the article. It will be conceded that the three items that go to make up cost are rent, wages, and transport. The first and the last are in the hands of the Government. The second does not enter into the question at the present moment. It is well known that the produce exported from India represents the pinch yielded up by the individual ryot after having retained sufficient for his personal wants, and on the principle of the Scotch proverb that "Every mickle mak's a muckle," the total receipts



from the ryots aggregate a large quantity. It is therefore to a reduction in land rent and in railway rates, and to improved croppings per acre, that we can principally hope for an increased trade. In a late resolution of the Government of India Lord Curzon showed that the land rent is not so burdensome as many seem to imagine, and Mr. Robertson, the special Commissioner lately appointed by the Government of India to investigate the whole railway policy, had no hesitation in coming to the conclusion that a reduction in railway rates was called for from every point of view. With regard to the remark I incidentally made about heavier croppings, it has been held by some that were the people of Bengal at all events encouraged to use coal or soft coke instead of cow manure for culinary purposes, the latter might be returned with great advantage to the soil, but the cost of railway carriage on coal is at present the chief impediment to such a proposal. The development of the railway system, which has so far been exceedingly slow, although it may have been carefully performed, will also help to cheapen the transport of goods and develop the great industries of the Indian Empire. Another impediment to the inflow of British capital is that instead of capturing the man in the street who may have £100 or £10,000,000 to invest, it has been notorious that the officers of the Government of India, through ignorance or distaste of commerce, have successfully kept him away or let him go by. I read in a paper from Calcutta the following remark on that very subject: "New measures suggested by outsiders are necessarily repugnant to the departments, and new measures suggested by themselves are almost invariably repugnant to others." It will continue to be so until it has been brought home to the Indian civilian that the reason of his existence is commerce, and that the material prosperity of the people is founded on commerce. He will then come to regard the capitalist as a patriot instead of an interloper, and be pleased to learn that he receives a good return upon the capital he embarks if he should succeed in doing so. Another feature of the problem is the remarkable fact that the industrial enterprise of India suffers from want of labour. The complaint comes from the cotton-mill industry of Bombay and Cawnpore, from the jute-mill and coal enterprise of Bengal, and from the tea-planters of Assam. In this connection Government assistance might be of much benefit, and bring about a better distribution of the people. Except in special cases, the development of railways being one, we cannot look to financial aid from the State in the prosecution of commercial enterprise, although it has always been an argument, and a very strong one, that it is advisable for the Government to guarantee interest on capital invested in railways to attract trust funds which would not otherwise be forthcoming. To summarize, let the Government understand that profits on Indian investments are small, securities unrealizable, legislation and political disturbances viewed with suspicion, exchange (in the minds of some) an uncertainty; and let the Government brush away the impediments to which I have alluded, and not make railway rates a tax on produce and goods for the benefit of the Exchequer, keep to a low land rent, especially for crops for export, help in an intelligent and energetic manner the distribution of the population,

make it understood among their officers that commerce is a first consideration and the *raison-d'être* of the British occupation—let the supreme Government be timid in introducing legislation affecting operatives, and there will be better prospects of an inflow of British capital to the great Indian Empire.

MR. DURANT BEIGHTON said that after the rather cruel remarks of the lecturer with regard to the class to whom he belonged—viz., retired public servants—it was a little reviving to hear the allusion which Sir Patrick Playfair had made to their services. They were charged with filling the meeting rooms of similar assemblages, which rooms ought to be filled with business men; but the extraordinary thing was that these men, who would not come to these meetings, applied to these ignorant Government officials for information, and they gave it to them. If the information was not worth having, so much the worse for them, but he altogether repudiated the idea of Government officials having no sympathy with business or business men. He agreed with a great deal of what Sir Lepel Griffin had said about the amount of interference that Government ought to exercise. It should be limited almost entirely to the guaranteeing, on certain lines, of railway enterprise, and to the institution of scientific research and practical experiment. With regard to experimental research, almost every kind of agricultural produce was the subject of experiment, and every possible improvement was attempted by the Government. As a means of bringing Indian investments to the knowledge of the investing public, he would like to refer to an excellent periodical published in Calcutta, which contained the whole of the returns from all the Calcutta industries for a period of ten years. With regard to the jute industry, taking twenty-four companies now working in Calcutta, last year the average dividend paid was no less than  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. One coal company had paid 24 per cent. and another  $27\frac{1}{2}$  per cent., and all well-managed companies in India had made handsome profits.

SIR PATRICK PLAYFAIR said that in the case of these two coal companies the capital had been increased by contributions from profits, and the original capital did not represent the present value of the concerns. The jute-mills paid dividends upon a small original capital which still stood on the books.

MR. DURANT BEIGHTON admitted that that might be so, but still it was a considerable profit. He agreed with the lecturer in most indignantly alluding to the increase in the duty on tea, which was now double what it was before the Boer War. Growers now would be driven back to the prejudicial course adopted some years back, and then abandoned, of enormously increasing their produce by overpicking in order to make some profit at all. With regard to the forest department, the forest returns showed very extraordinary results. The gross expenses last year were 1 lakh 85,000 rupees, and the expenditure 1 lakh 11,000 rupees, leaving a gigantic profit. At first sight this appeared to be a very excellent and admirable mode of carrying on the work of Government by obtaining an enormous sum of money in this way, but a little reflection showed that the Government did not act on the principles that would actuate a sensible capitalist,

because, comparing Java and Siam, Java timber was not very good, while Siamese timber was ; it had better routes to the water and cheaper transit than Indian produce, and therefore the sounder policy on the part of the Government would be to make less profit and do a larger business. The Government complained that about a fifth of their carrying business had to be done by themselves because no contractors would come forward to take it up. If these facts came before English millionaires and men of business, and if they knew the possibilities of profit there were in the forest department, he foresaw an enormous possibility of the extension of trade in India.

MR. F. H. SKRINE said he was sorry to find Sir Lepel Griffin falling into a fallacy which had been almost exploded by later research and deeper knowledge. He wished to substitute technical for literary education, but no technical education was worthy of the name unless it were based on a sound literary training. Let them begin by giving Indian boys the best training, making their minds supple, improving their memories, enlarging their judgment, and giving them wider views of life and men and manners, holding up the noble examples of the past, and raising their minds above the sordid surroundings of the present. If the boys were then sent to a technical school they would become more useful artisans or operatives than the boys who began without any literary training at all.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN : I suggested that the boys of whom I spoke should begin their technical training at the age of seventeen ; that is when their literary training would have ended.

MR. SKRINE said he understood the proposal was to substitute technical for literary training. Seventeen was quite early enough to begin technical training. As an old Bengal civilian he agreed with Sir Patrick Playfair as to the attitude of the Government towards commerce. Sympathy with commerce did not exist, and the capitalist was still regarded as their forefathers regarded the interlopers of the eighteenth century : the fewer there existed the better. If the question were what should be the attitude of the Government towards commerce in India, that attitude should be expressed by the words *laissez faire*. Let capital have fair play. Do not hamper it with coolie legislation and other idiotic measures which were a disgrace to the statute book, and which had kept back many of the best Indian industries. Let there be fair play as regards commercial intercourse between England and Europe and India and the endowment of technical research and technical exploitation of Indian products. Why was it that with the monopoly of indigo they had allowed the Germans to spend nine millions sterling and beat them out of the field ? Because the indigo-planters thought of nothing but sports, and had no technical knowledge of their industry whatever. Their methods were most barbarous ; they knew nothing of agriculture and nothing of chemistry. It was a disgrace to India that there was not a Government institute teaching these things. In Japan, if anything went wrong with the silkworms the Mikado himself descended from his lofty throne, and issued a decree that the evil should be inquired into ; in India the silk industry was on the down grade, and whatever the cause silk was nothing like it was forty or fifty years ago. The Govern-

ment had given a few thousand rupees for improving silk, but it had not done enough.

The CHAIRMAN: I hold no brief for the Indian Civil Service, but I cannot help feeling that Mr. Skrine has spoken too strongly. I am, of course, speaking of the Civil Service as it is to-day, while Mr. Skrine left India some years ago. As a matter of fact, the present Government does take a deep interest in commercial matters. They may not always know how to help us, but they always do their best.

MR. H. BEAUCHAMP said that having lived twenty years in the southern presidency, he should like to say something about the enterprise of the natives in Southern India, and how much ahead they are of other presidencies and provinces in such matters as agriculture and banks, and also in regard to the very large proportion of the area under the cultivation of coffee, which was thought to be essentially a European industry. The cause of the shyness of British capital with regard to India was, perhaps, threefold. He agreed with Sir Patrick Playfair that silver securities were always shied at, and that the uncertainty of famine had a great influence on the ordinary casual investor. Another cause which had not been touched upon was that the large proportion of the native educated public were themselves enemies to the progress of India. They were continually crying stinking fish, and saying that India was poverty-stricken and discontented, and the echoes of those remarks were occasionally heard in the City of London. He would give one concrete instance of how industrial development was hampered in India. A very enterprising firm in Madras wish to develop a very promising coal-field. They obtained through a German firm in Calcutta very expensive boring plant and engaged expert borers, and brought them down to this coal-field near Madras. What was the result? They started work before they found out who the land belonged to, but when they began to inquire into it, they found that the land belonged to 2,000 or 3,000 ryots, who each had an acre, and who had each to be squared. It was found that to come to an agreement with each of these ryots 3,000 stamped papers had to be drawn up, which paid a rupee to five rupees each; and consequently, before any company could begin such a big operation as that boring with anything like security, they had to arrange with 3,000 ryots, and pay something between Rs. 7,000 and Rs. 8,000 in stamped paper, because if one ryot had not given up his land and the coal had been found in the next field to his, he would have had the whip hand. If there was to be any mining development there ought to be some rule under which, where there was a promising mining field under ryot-owned land, a prospector should be able to obtain prospecting rights without having to negotiate with 3,000 ryots for a matter of 3,000 acres.

MR. BIRDWOOD: Before dealing with the various criticisms which my paper evoked, I desire to thank the members of the East India Association and their guests for the way in which they received me, and the speakers for the kindly references made to my name. In asking me to read a paper on such a subject, the Council conferred a great honour upon me. I knew that it would be impossible to do full justice to so inexhaustible a theme,

but there were certain matters connected with the development of India's industries which I have long felt would be the better for ventilation, and the invitation coming from so influential an Association gave me courage to attempt to supply the need. While the many kind things said of my efforts caused me honest, unaffected pleasure, they have also laid a heavy responsibility upon me in showing that the fault will rest with me if I fail to retain that inheritance of esteem won by my father and others of his name while working on India's behalf. And if your praises pleased, I was still more gratified by the searching criticisms on my paper, for they will assist me greatly in the continued attention I shall be giving to the problems raised. In particular I welcomed the speech of H.H. the Aga Khan. His statesmanlike utterances will go far towards rebutting those doubts which exist among uninformed or misinformed investors in England concerning the political stability of India, and his sturdy belief in the latent wealth of her industries is the best augury for their future success. My gratitude is also due to Mr. Joseph Walton, Lord Reay, and Sir Thomas Wardle—a careful study of their speeches cannot but assist in promoting the object of the paper—and I would also take this opportunity of thanking Sir Charles Dilke, for though he was unable to remain to speak at the meeting, the correspondence which he kindly permitted me to carry on with him was of the greatest possible help. To Sir Lepel Griffin my thanks are peculiarly due for the views and opinions expressed by him, coming as they do from one who has not only filled public offices of the highest responsibility with distinction, and is practically experienced in the details of commercial enterprise, but is a brilliant and ever-acceptable exponent by speech and pen of original and suggestive views on administrative and economic questions affecting the Dependency. To Sir Patrick Playfair also I am greatly indebted; his exposition of the causes which make capital shy of India was most illuminating. To Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee I hardly like expressing my thanks for his more than kindly references towards myself. I have enjoyed his friendship, and have known him as a friend of my father almost since my school-days, and it would be approaching presumption to say how much I appreciated his encomiums. It is due to Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggee's enlightened and public-spirited advocacy that the question of technical education in India has been attracting so much attention during the past few years. To Mr. Skrine I am indebted for the effective way in which he met some of the main criticisms which previous speakers had directed against my paper. Last in order, but first in emphasis, I wish to express my warmest appreciations to Mr. Cable for taking the chair and speaking with such directness and knowledge, thereby giving to the discussion that practical keynote which Anglo-Indian debates on commercial subjects are apt to lack. The discussion took a twofold aspect. Firstly, it brought out certain minor criticisms of the paper; it was contended that I did not praise this or that industry sufficiently, or that I blew hot or cold concerning some suggestions, or that I omitted all references to such and such an enterprise. Much was made of minor points and of omissions necessitated by considerations of space and time. I would ask my critics not to deem me guilty of discourtesy if I pass their comments by in silence. What

loomed large a month ago somewhat shrinks in size in the quieter atmosphere of the study, and I am sure that all will agree that undue prominence should not be given to answering arguments relating to small details, for such action might tend to deflect from the main object of the lecture. The second and more important aspect of the debate was its relation to this main object, an investigation of the reason why it is British capital has not found its way into India in larger volume. The explanations given and the criticisms of my conclusions were various, but to a degree were non-constructive, and I listened almost in vain for the higher note to be struck—what must our future policy be to insure the development of India's industries? On all sides it was admitted that capital is required; the diseases which prevent its introduction were clearly indicated. It was plainly shown that they are not incurable, but there were too few words spoken setting out what could be done with capital were it introduced; and after all that was the chief reason for the discussion. Education and the removal of certain Government drags upon private enterprise were the panacea advocated. So far as the former is concerned, I am absolutely at one with those who would support systematic technical education so long as the mind is first trained by bookish acquirements. But to say that the development of India's industries must wait until her sons have been educated into practical knowledge would put back progress for generations, and even were it possible to prophesy complete success, one would hesitate to argue that the recipients of the higher learning would necessarily see their way to put their attainments at the disposal of their less fortunate brethren. To turn loose year by year 2,000 highly specialized native artisans among the population might have results very different to those contemplated, and would be worse than useless if avenues of employment were not available for them. Technical education may eventually prove India's salvation, but until capital has surveyed the industrial ground, and has set up her sign-posts along the paths to possible progress, I cannot think that India and her people offer that scope for practical education which some of the speakers confidently believe to be the case. The history of the Public Works Department, as well as India's existing manufacturing industries, prove that in skilled labour, as in other economic requirements, demand creates supply. It follows that, given capitalist enterprise, the industrial progress of India can be farther advanced without idly waiting for the time to come when the masses will be educated and the artisans will on a great scale receive State training. With regard to Government disabilities and State aid, the views expressed were almost without exception destructive. We have to assume that certain actions on the part of Government in the past have tended to check the capitalist; he has received little sympathy, and hitherto has not been in a position to lay his case before anyone having intimate experience of commercial matters, and who at the same time is in complete accord with the authorities. Matters undoubtedly have improved within recent years, but until the capitalist is in a position to show that he is in earnest, and that he has public opinion at his back, it can hardly be expected that Government will do anything which might cause them inconvenience, and

which at the same time is not clearly proved to be for the good of the community. The Government require ripe and well-matured plans to be laid before them, and these are best likely to be duly considered and accepted if they are the result of collective action by syndicates such as I have suggested. To criticise Government action of the past, and at the same time to fail to formulate some constructive proposals for the future, in no way assists in filling up the rut. With regard to State assistance in general, in theory I strongly object to it, but as the individual has a duty towards the community to get the best value out of his assets, so there are occasions when the community must help the individual. I should like to see those occasions made as rare as possible. When, however, the community deliberately provides that India should be governed under a system of elaborate leading-strings, then the duty rests on the rulers representing the general body to help the member, especially should it be found that the fostering action of Government prevents the due development of natural resources. I do not mean to infer that in the course of the debate no constructive proposals were put forward. Mr. Cable's suggestions, whereby India's industrial potentialities might be made better known to the public at home, have my heartiest sympathy, while in the matter of State aid few would venture to go beyond what he advocated. Mr. Cable's proposal regarding the issue of pamphlets by the State was criticised by Lord Reay, who suggested that in lieu of such action the various Chambers of Commerce should arrange for the more complete distribution of information concerning Indian industries. His lordship is of opinion that with the machinery already in existence the public could be completely educated concerning Indian commercial affairs. Personally, I feel that this proposal is not one which would be likely to bear such good fruit as that formulated by Mr. Cable. The value of the work done by Chambers of Commerce varies very considerably. Where, as in the English Midlands, they are, as it were, commercial clubs of combined trades, the views of the members are a prominent feature of their journal, and much information is forthcoming in a handy and popular form; but this certainly does not apply to all such bodies, and for that reason I think perhaps that Lord Reay's suggestion does not carry the matter sufficiently forward. His lordship's proposal that deputations from various Chambers of Commerce at home should from time to time visit India and study on the spot the industrial problems of the Dependency, subsequently publishing their Reports, would undoubtedly do something towards stimulating public interest, but I fear that unless the oxygen of private enterprise were present these conferences might result merely in the churning up of an already vitiated atmosphere. It is impossible to deal in detail with other constructive or quasi-constructive proposals; it is sufficient to note, again, that the speakers were practically unanimous in their belief that capital is required, and I can only trust that steps will at once be taken to ascertain how it can best be used in India in order that the information obtained may be laid before the public with a view to asking them for financial assistance. There are doubtless many industries which could absorb capital in quantities and bring in good

returns. To ask any man to-day to name any Indian industry in the development of which half a million pounds could lucratively be expended at once is hardly pertinent to the subject. If fifty years ago the same question had been put, would anyone have ventured to suggest that such a sum of money could have been profitably laid out in the exploitation of the tea or jute industry? From the Viceroy downwards the cry is for capital, and it is for syndicates such as I have suggested to see how that call has come into existence, and the best means of answering it. And that brings me to one matter not referred to in my paper, and that is the pessimism of the average British-Indian merchant, who is seconded in depreciating India as a field for investment by some ex-officials. There are certain noted exceptions, but as a general rule, whatever scheme you may discuss with the average Anglo-Indian merchant, he invariably throws cold water upon it, though there are many occasions on which it is perfectly clear that his opinion is founded rather on force of habit than on real thought. Pessimism is not proof, and I do most sincerely hope that when India and her resources become more generally inquired about by English investors, and when they ask those who ought to know, and who do know, for advice concerning any newly-contemplated or old-established venture, they will not at the very outset be met with the remark that really there is no good to be got out of India. If they will probe the matter fully, I think they will find that the depth of the pessimism is in direct ratio to the depth of the pocket, that the richer the man the blacker his views, especially concerning the acquisition of wealth by others in the same field as himself. I am happy to think that the co-ordination of the Indian Trade Inquiry Office with the Commercial Intelligence Branch of the Board of Trade will do something towards removing the disabilities from which any would-be investor suffers. The fact that the new offices are centrally situated in the City of London will assist, for inquirers could hardly be expected to journey to the Imperial Institute when they wanted information concerning Indian industries. And the fact that Mr. T. W. Holderness represents the India Office on the committee appointed for the purpose of advising the Board of Trade on the work of the Commercial Intelligence Branch is a good omen. The work to be done by the new commercial department in India should assist as well; the City man, however, will in every case require this assurance, that any new branch is not merely budded off from some existing departmental stem, but that the various heads of the various sections are men who from their training can take a really broad-minded view of the requirements of the ordinary trader. But the new branch cannot do everything, the whole forces of Government cannot command success should the public fail to step in and fill the breach. Private enterprise must be ready to do its share in the work. If it be allowed to labour alongside Government, all the better; but, in any event, work it must if India's industries are to become known and British capital found to develop them.

The CHAIRMAN: It devolves on me to close this most interesting discussion, and to thank Mr. Birdwood for the pleasure and instruction which his paper has afforded. For myself, I desire to express my high apprecia-



tion of the great honour which that important body, the East India Association, has done me by asking me to preside on this occasion. At this late hour you will not expect me to make a speech; the subject has been well thrashed out by the various speakers, who have expressed many and different views, but I think we are all agreed that the time has come when something must be done. I only hope that the East India Association may regard these proceedings as a mandate, and that they will take immediate steps to bring the whole subject prominently to the notice of the Government of India. To this important body, the East India Association, belongs the honour of having said the first word on this important subject; I hope that to them also will belong the honour of saying the last word, and that in the meantime private enterprise may be on the alert.

MR. R. H. ELLIOTT proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding, and to Mr. Frank Birdwood for his very able paper.

At a meeting of the Association, held at the Westminster Palace Hotel, on Monday, June 6, 1904, a paper was read by Mr. F. H. Skrine, I.C.S. (retired), on "The Benares Mutiny of 1799: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Politics," Major-General Sir Edwin Collen, G.C.I.E., in the chair. Among those present were the following: Major-General Sir J. Hills Johnes, V.C., G.C.B., Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Stevens, K.C.S.I., the Honourable Robert Grosvenor, Sir James Walker, C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Lady Strachey, Lady Leng, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Colonel Robertson, Mr. Braybrook, C.B., Mr. A. Portius, Colonel Stewart of Ardovlech, Mr. John Pollen, LL.D., C.I.E., Mr. J. S. McConechi, Major-General J. Webster and Miss Webster, Mr. and Mrs. A. Forbes Sieve King, Mrs. and Miss Leigh Pemberton, Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Miss Malony, Misses Delaney, Miss Campbell, Mr. Crewe Tremaine and Miss Tremaine, Mr. Griffin Dean, Mr. Croft Williams, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. J. G. Charles, I.C.S., Mr. and Mrs. Charles Kelly, Dr. P. Doerkovitz, Mrs. Murray, Mr. K. P. Sinha, Mrs. G. B. Pemberton, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mrs. Willock, Mrs. McGregor, Mrs. Saunders, Miss Fuller, Mr. L. Benson, Captain Rolleston, Raizada Hans Raj, Mrs. Carmichael Christopher, Mrs. Ernest Medley, Mrs. Gwendoline Otter, Mrs. and Miss Hadden Woodward, Mr. Tagore, Mr. Horan, Mr. Crampion, Miss Deva Caird, Miss Bastian, Mr. Martin Wood, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said he thought a formal introduction was hardly necessary, because Mr. Skrine was well known as a student of Indian history and of Indian politics and affairs, besides being a member of that distinguished service which had done so much for India. The episode of which he treated was a very interesting one.

The paper was then read.\*

The CHAIRMAN said he was sure that all present would join with him in expressing appreciation of Mr. Skrine's paper. They owed a debt of

\* For paper, see elsewhere in this *Review*.

gratitude to those who, like Mr. Skrine, endeavoured by their studies to illuminate obscure passages of Indian history. Such studies demanded more ability and labour than they were usually credited with. The paper was the more valuable in that, while it taught several useful lessons, it also rescued from oblivion the memory of the gallant Davis, whom Mill, in his "History of India," merely alluded to, without giving his name, as a gentleman who literally "stood with his enemies in the gate," and who so bravely defended the head of the winding staircase in that Benares house against an armed and desperate mob. There must, of course, be differences of opinion in discussing historical problems; and perhaps Mr. Skrine would pardon him if he was unable to see eye to eye with him in regard to certain points, whether having reference to eighteenth-century politics or other matters. One subject he would especially allude to—the lecturer's appreciation of the character of Wazir Ali. Mr. Skrine's generous impulse had, he thought, led him to deal a little too leniently with Wazir Ali. The dethroned Nawab hardly seemed to be a man of generous disposition; but that, of course, was a mere matter of opinion which he submitted for what it was worth. The initial mistake was putting him on the throne at all. The lecturer had mentioned that a parallel might be drawn between the outbreak of Benares in 1799 and that which occurred at Meerut in 1857; and he quite recognised that there were certain points of similarity. In both cases the outbreak was premature, and in both cases Hindus and Mohammedans coalesced; but in the case of Benares the insurrection was fomented and led by a man who had been dethroned, aided by various disaffected nobles and zemindars, and our native troops did not join in the revolt, while the mutiny of 1857 was a gigantic military conspiracy. He agreed with the lecturer that, had it not been for the calm courage of Mr. Davis, the presence of troops in the neighbourhood, and the promptitude with which they were sent to the rescue, affairs might have taken a much more serious turn. Even after Mr. Davis was rescued, Wazir Ali, as they had heard, was supported not only by disaffected zemindars, but by large numbers of the Oudh local troops, so that he was able to descend from the Nepal Terai to the plains of Jaipur with a comparatively large army, requiring a considerable force to be sent to finally crush him. To some people the incidents so ably portrayed by Mr. Skrine might seem to belong to an age long passed, but when he recollected that this incident occurred in the lifetime of his own father, and that one of those children on the housetop at Benares died as recently as 1890, he thought he might say that, at all events as regarded history, a very short period had passed. Since those days enormous progress had been made in the moral and material welfare of India, but with a population of three hundred millions of people there must always exist the elements of disturbance and disaffection. He yielded to none in his desire to see the advancement of the people and the advancement of their welfare, and he had a great regard, he might say affection, for his native Indian fellow-subjects; but he still believed that one of the chief lessons to be learned from Mr. Skrine's able paper was that we could not at any time afford to denude Indian provinces of British troops. It was of vital importance to maintain a strong British

garrison in India, and so to organize our military system in this country as to be able to reinforce that garrison at the shortest notice, whether to repel external attack or for the preservation of peace. And, further, every European in India should be prepared to assist in maintaining public tranquillity and strict obedience to law, which it was essential should be maintained in the best interests of the people of India.

MR. J. D. REES said he heartily agreed that their gratitude was due to a gentleman who at this time of day could find leisure to deal with an episode of Indian history from which might be drawn such useful morals as their Chairman had deduced. To show how necessary to our education were these excursions into the past, he might say that until he saw the title of the paper he did not know that there had ever been a mutiny at Benares. The title had now been changed to a "massacre," which was obviously the more proper designation. The subject must be of great interest to most of them, but perhaps more than all to those who had seen the fantastic palace of the Kings of Oudh on the banks of the Hughli, or had interviewed (as he had) the last King who sat on the throne of Oudh. The Chairman had drawn one moral from Mr. Skrine's interesting lecture. Another moral to be drawn was that the people of India never rose against the British. Just as the great mutiny was merely a Sepoy *pronunciamento*, so this Benares massacre was merely the result of an intrigue on the part of a dispossessed Prince and a few of his followers. And this was a very important point to remember, because English views about Indian questions were often characterized by rank injustice, and the most commonplace and elementary facts required to be rubbed in for home consumption. (Hear, hear.) It appeared to him, too, that when Mr. Skrine spoke of "every base device known to the Oriental mind," and of "the dark currents of Oriental intrigues," he was overstating the case; and that, although a little intrigue was natural to the Oriental mind, it was really doubtful whether this dispossessed Prince was exceptional in manifesting a dislike to being ousted from the position he was wont to occupy, and whether it was not exceedingly natural that he and his adherents should take some steps to regain the throne, couch, cushion, or whatever the seat of honour they had lost was styled. The sooner, therefore, they recognised the fact that there was not such a very great difference between human nature in the East and the West, the sooner would they arrive at a proper appreciation of these questions. (Hear, hear.) The Japanese had done a great deal of late to illustrate his point; and he hoped that in future, it would not be necessary in England to do what Sir Lepel Griffin was just doing before they came across from the Council Meeting—viz., to protest in his report that our Indian fellow-subjects were not only a loyal and admirable people, but a highly-civilized community. This was the fact that Sir Lepel had been driving home for the benefit of our fellow-subjects in South Africa who had been so unjustly treated, and who had been described in the press in this country and in South Africa in terms which could only cause pain to those who had been associated with Indians during the greater part of their lives, and knew how great were their merits, and how utterly inapplicable was any description of them as being upon the same plane as the natives of

Africa. Mr. Skrine was a student of Russian affairs, and he had had the pleasure of reading a most interesting history he wrote, and he (Mr. Rees) would really like to ask him whether his studies of Russian affairs, such as a perusal of the history of Romband, or of other works from which he might have derived his extensive knowledge of the subject, had led him to think that the history of Russia exhibited less of the "base devices" or less of those "dark currents of intrigue" that were characteristic of the Oriental mind than this story of the Benares massacre, or other stories connected with the history of India with which he was familiar. For his own part, he could see no difference, or, at any rate, none to the discredit of the Oriental. Another conclusion deducible from this story, as from another recent experience of ours—namely, the attack upon the Legations at Pekin—was that where, in the East, there was a rising against Europeans the rising was exceedingly half-hearted, and the attacks were never pushed home. It did not appear to him that they had ever got the people at their back, for if that had been the case it would have been quite impossible for one man to defend a staircase with a hog-spear, or for a few men in the compound to withstand the attack of inhabitants of one of the greatest cities in the East. The moral, he thought, to be drawn from the history of Eastern intrigues was, not that they should be astonished at Oriental duplicity and treachery, but that they should acknowledge with gratitude that where rebellion had been instigated by certain members of the community, the masses of the people were never at their backs. That Mr. Davis should have been driven to defend himself on the stairs; that two old horses should have been shot, which was not infrequently the fate of old horses; that glasses should have been smashed, a frequent episode of a riot, were no doubt things that were exceedingly improper, but they did not produce the impression of a rising of people determined to exterminate the foreigner. They produced on him exactly the opposite impression. These, to his mind, were the conclusions to be drawn from the episode, and with regard to the question to which Sir Edwin Collen had addressed himself, the bearing of the episode upon the maintenance of our armed forces in the East, that, he thought, had been so well dealt with by that eminent authority that he would not touch upon it himself.

MR. MARTIN WOOD also addressed the meeting.

MR. SKRINE expressed his gratitude for the deep attention paid to the paper, and the kind remarks that had fallen from the Chairman and Mr. Rees. He had listened with great interest to the Chairman's deductions, because the latter had been for many years identified with the British army in India, and had done more for that army than any other living man, except, perhaps, Lord Roberts. Sir Edwin Collen, therefore, spoke with an authority which no one, save Lord Roberts, possessed on the subject of the defences of India. The moral he drew—that the British garrison could not be reduced beyond a certain minimum without danger to the State—would commend itself to everyone present. With regard to Mr. Rees' remarks, he was entirely at one with him that this rebellion was not a national affair, any more than the mutiny was a mutiny of the people. It was an abortive rising exclusively engineered by the deposed Sovereign,

and the people had neither part nor lot in it, those who actually rose being zemindars and followers in their pay. Mr. Rees was well known for his sympathy with the natives of India, and that sympathy the speaker shared to the full. He had, he supposed, quite as many friends as Mr. Rees had amongst Indians, and he would be the very last to stigmatize them as being given over to "fathomless intrigue." The people he was alluding to in that passage were the corrupt nobles—the *amra*, as they were called—attached to the native court of Oudh. Lucknow at the present day was far from being a model city, and it was worse sixty years ago. Those who wished to gain an idea of the intrigues and moral degradation at the capital of Oudh should read Knightson's "Private Life of an Eastern King." It would be interesting to trace the whereabouts of Mr. Davis's historic spear. His grand-niece, Mrs. Henry Willock, had informed him that it was no longer in the family's possession, but he held in his hand a letter from his friend, Sir Henry Cotton, to the effect that this weapon was in his brother's custody.

The proceedings terminated with votes of thanks to the lecturer and to Sir Edwin Collen, proposed by Sir Lepel Griffin.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

“SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA.”\*

SIR,

The first thing that occurs to one on looking into this book is how much we suffer for want of that accurate information as to the condition of the people of India for which the Famine Union applied in vain. We might have been saved the thankless task of finding mistakes in it if irrefutable evidence had been within reach of its painstaking and conscientious author. As it is, he is bewildered by the variety and contradictory nature of his evidence, so that his book is sadly wanting in consistency. For instance, on p. 79 he says roundly that “cultivation in India does not pay”—much too general a statement for anyone who knows only one small corner of it to make, and contradicted by himself on pp. 201 and 207. Again, on p. 169 he says the Indian artisan is (absolutely and without qualification) “lazy,” and generally an “inefficient labourer,” whilst on p. 181 he seems to prove to his own satisfaction that the labouring classes generally are nothing of the kind. Even in his remarks on the labouring classes and wages, which his severe critic, Mr. Ukil, in the *Indian Review* for February (p. 81), finds really valuable, he is not, I think, very consistent. In one chapter he seems almost to complain of the tendency of the people to emigrate in search of a living, while on p. 217 he is worried by the immobility of labour.

On p. 205, again, he seems to approve of the complaint that the introduction of an improved species of ground-nut has created such a demand for unskilled labour that the ordinary landholder is suffering for want of it, and even sympathizes with the landowners of Tanjore in their

\* By G. Subbramania Aiyar, B.A. Swadesamitran Press, Madras. Price Rs. 3.

memorial against unchecked emigration ; and yet ends the chapter (very sensibly) by saying that the labourer must not be sacrificed for the benefit of the landowner, and that "it would be a good day for India when, owing to the increased cost of labour, the landowner (is compelled) to make good his diminishing profit by a more rational and productive system of cultivation than the primitive one which he and his ancestors have followed from time immemorial." That is a sentiment with which I, for one, most heartily concur.

Of all the chapters in the book that on Wages is singled out by Professor Ukil as showing Mr. Subbramania Aiyar at his best ; and as there is probably no question of greater importance to the country at the present time, it may be worth while to consider carefully what he has to say on the subject, and what remedies, if any, he has to suggest for the admittedly degraded state of labour in India. It is no doubt true, as he says, that the prices of provisions "have been steadily rising" for many years, whilst the wages of unskilled labour, at any rate, "have remained more or less stationary," so that we are forced to admit that unskilled labourers and such agricultural labourers as are not paid in kind "must have had the hardship of their lot greatly aggravated even in ordinary non-famine times." After some discussion he comes to the conclusion that "in India the increase in the [numbers of the] labouring population, the scarcity of capital, and the inefficient competition of labour," account for the low rate of wages that prevails ; but this is curiously inconsistent with his argument in the previous chapter that the supply of agricultural labour is quite inadequate *unless at exorbitant rates*. This being the case even in wealthy Tanjore, it is difficult to see how the absorption of the surplus labouring population in manufacturing and other industries would improve matters for the farmer, because it is quite certain that if the agricultural labourer could earn 3 annas a day in a mill he would not work any longer for 2 annas a day on a farm. One

thing is clear : if prices have gone up from 25 to 50 per cent., wages *must* somehow be got to follow suit, and Mr. Subbramania sets himself to consider how this result is to be brought about. "It is organized labour," he says, "that has made the labouring classes such a powerful factor in Western civilization"; but even in England the agricultural labourer is the very last to combine and to assert his rights, and it is difficult (as yet) to imagine the Pullar and the Pariah forming a trades union; so that his appeal to the sympathies of their employers seems much more to the purpose, especially when it is considered that the Government of India itself is by far the largest employer of labour, and is bound by the commonest principles of humanity to see that its employ es have at least a "living wage." More than that it is unnecessary, and, in my opinion, undesirable, for the Government to do. Let it set the example of paying a proper wage, and private employers will soon be compelled to give the same wages or do without the labour they want. It is quite impossible for any Government to fix the rate of wages by law, but it is the plain duty of every Government to do justice to all, and especially to those who have no other helper.

The rest of the volume, which is chiefly taken up with questions of trade and commerce, is outside my scope, though I may have something to say about it another time. By way of concluding my present remarks, and chiefly to show the author's unfortunate preference for special pleading and partisanship, I will very briefly allude to his remarks on p. 20 *et seq.*, where he gibbets Mr. Rees and myself as examples of official callousness, because we insist that other countries also suffer from poverty and misery. It can hardly be necessary to say that a statement of an economic (or any other) fact, even about the cold of winter and consequent acuter misery of the destitute in this country, is no evidence of a callous heart. It would be as reasonable to quote the words "the poor ye have always with you" as showing great want of feeling. And



if it is a *fact* that an Indian of the poorest classes can live on 6 pies a day, to say that he can do so is not to take a "narrow" or a "heartless" view of the condition of the country, because the qualities of narrowness or heartlessness do not come into consideration in the discussion of statistics. It would have been quite another matter if I had ever suggested that 6 pies was as much as an Indian coolie deserved or required; but I need hardly say that I have never lost a reasonable opportunity of expressing my regret for the poverty of the masses in India. Nor did I ever offer it as a consolation to *them* that people in this country suffer perhaps even more than they do. I have only stated these facts, (if they are facts, as I believe them to be,) with the idea of checking that tendency to exaggerated language in describing the woes of India which is so conspicuous again in this book. It is *not true* that when we speak of poverty in European countries we mean a different thing from what is meant in India. By extreme poverty we mean *absolute destitution* and dying by starvation, the misery of which is certainly aggravated by the cold of winter, whether winter is an "economic cause" of poverty or not, though I may say that I fail to see how the expenditure on fuel and warm clothing necessitated by the cold of winter can be anything but one of the contributing economic causes of poverty. I need say no more on this point, however, as Mr. Ukil has gone into the question so fully. I would only once more protest against the use of averages of income in England and India, as if they were in any way relevant to the issue, the fact being that such averages have no application to the *utterly destitute*, who have no income at all. When I said that more than 10 per cent. of the people in this country "never have enough to eat," I ought to have added, "unless they get it in the workhouse"; and there, like the coolie in a famine camp, they certainly don't get more than a bare subsistence. Mr. Subbramania Aiyar says "this [statement of mine] is not a fact"; but it is certainly a fact that at least 10 per

cent. of our population are always destitute, and either live on charity (as represented by the Poor Law) or die of starvation, as is not infrequently the case when they refuse to apply for relief. Mr. Subbramania fails to distinguish between Mr. Rowntree's  $7\frac{1}{2}$  millions "living below the poverty line," whose condition is miserable enough, and "the submerged tenth," who are absolutely and hopelessly destitute. Whether Mr. Rowntree says so or not, there can be no doubt of the fact that a very substantial proportion of the population—it may be a tenth, or it may be more or less—is in that condition. I can assure the author that the term "poverty" is used in this country precisely as it is in India, to express a state "which consists in destitution, steady underfeeding, disease, shortened life, and continued deterioration of body and mind." If he had lived in England for the last few years he could hardly have picked up a newspaper without finding evidence of this fact. In this connection I cannot help once more calling attention to a little book, which I read again and again with increasing pleasure, called, "My Jubilee Visit to London," by Subadar Muhammad Beg,\* and the author's striking remarks on the poverty of Italy. When we consider that his remarks were quite spontaneous, and that he was not full of an advocate's zeal to prove his case either for or against the poverty of India, I cannot help thinking that his evidence is most important, especially as he came from one of the worst of the Madras famine districts, and must have had plenty of experience of the misery of famine. Yet the first thing that struck him at Brindisi was that "there was poverty stalking in the land. Three to four hundred poor people were flocking to us, some to sell fruit, but others to beg. They must [he says] be very, very poor indeed, judging from their general appearance. They were literally in the worst of rags, with the utmost squalor and misery painted on their faces. If you threw away a half-smoked cigar, many would rush to pick it up and smoke

\* Reviewed in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for July, 1900, p. 209.

it. *I have never seen in my life a more miserable-looking people.*" Now, I say that, considering the worthy Subadar came straight from Bellary, and must have been familiar with the horrors of an Indian famine, which *I* certainly have never been disposed to minimize, this is a most remarkable pronouncement, and it is the more valuable as evidence because it is not tainted with the evil odour of controversy.

The extreme importance of avoiding all exaggeration in discussing this burning question of the poverty of India must be my excuse for saying so much on what may seem a personal question; but I must just add one word more on a quotation from my friend Mr. Thorburn on p. 24 of our author's work, which, of course, meets with the author's entire approval, and is a notable example of that exaggerated language which I deprecate so much. If it is true that "*more than half* the agriculturists of British India are now in about as miserable a plight as human beings—not officially designated slaves or serfs—can be," how strange it seems that Subadar Muhammad Beg, who certainly didn't come from one of the "favoured localities excepted," should have been so struck with the infinitely worse condition of the people of Italy! When Mr. Thorburn goes on to say that "to the sympathetic statesman India contains, not one atom, but *three hundred millions of units, each a struggling atom of humanity, lying prostrate and bleeding under the wheels of the Juggernaut car called 'Progress on Western lines,'*" one can but wonder at the audacity of his rhetoric as well as the "fierceness of his indictment," before which Digby shrinks into insignificance and even Hyndman pales his ineffectual fires! In most of his reflections on the condition of the English people our author fails to observe that his facts (such, for instance, as are given on p. 26), like his average income, apply only to people *who are employed*. They do not prove that people "out of employ" are any better off than they were, and there can be no doubt that by contrast the condition of the unemployed is far worse than ever. His misleading use of averages is clearly

shown on p. 28, where he says that "an income of Rs. 30 a year means 1 anna and 4 pies a day, exactly the wage earned by a famine coolie in the Government relief camp," but fails to observe that this  $1\frac{1}{8}$  anna is *not* the average of the *adult males*, even when the average income is Rs. 30 a year. To estimate rightly the average income of the adult male, when Rs. 30 is the average of the whole population, *including babies*, we must multiply it by 4 or 5 at least.

He is careful enough to point out (quite rightly) that the average income is swollen by the inclusion of millionaires, and properly draws the conclusion that there must be millions and millions who get less than the average, but he altogether fails to deduct the babies and young children from the other end of the scale. The truth is, as I have constantly pointed out, nothing can be more absurd than these averages of income when we don't take account of the millionaires at one end and the babies at the other. How is the starving sempstress benefited by knowing that the "average" income in England, when swollen by that of millionaires like the Duke of Westminster, amounts to the comfortable sum of £40 or £50 a year, when she herself never gets enough to eat?

J. B. PENNINGTON.

*June, 1904.*

#### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN CEYLON.

DEAR SIR,

I beg to enclose a letter from Mr. H. Mitchell Taylor, formerly of the British Guiana Civil Service, on the subject of "Estate Schools in Ceylon." The letter was written by Mr. Taylor to me with a view to its publication. I quite endorse its purport, and it is, I think, an interesting commentary on Sir Lepel Griffin's proposals in connection with this important subject. The reform is being actively discussed in India, and especially in Ceylon; and I may mention that a letter embodying definite suggestions on the subject has been addressed by myself to the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Yours truly,

A. G. WISE.

*April 25, 1904.*

The following is the letter referred to :

DEAR SIR,

In retirement after thirty years' official connection with East Indian coolies in British Guiana, I have read with much interest recent publications on the subject of elementary education in Ceylon as applied to the children of the labourers employed on the tea plantations—a subject in which it appears you have especially interested yourself.

It is evident from the report in the *Journal of the East Indian Association* of the meeting held on December 3 last, and the discussion which followed the reading of your interesting paper on the subject, that the provision of primary education in the direction indicated is regarded as beyond question the manifest duty of the Government. This view is borne out by the discussion at the meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on the reading of Mr. John Ferguson's paper, "Ceylon from 1896-1903," in which I notice you also took a part.

The system of education in British Guiana was referred to more than once at these meetings ; but the circumstances in that colony are entirely different from those obtaining in Ceylon. In the former, with a very mixed community of races and religions amongst the labouring classes—blacks, Hindoos, Mohamedans, and Chinese—the ambitious attempt has been made (not unsuccessfully) to institute a broad English system of education applicable to the whole, whereas it seems all that is required by the Ceylon movement under present discussion is a strictly elementary educational training in the vernacular and in reckoning for practical and civilizing purposes, and this among children of one race.

To an outsider like myself it would appear strange that there should be any hesitation in providing for the admitted want. It is but a small part in "the white man's burden," and the difficulties are not heavy. It would seem that the only difficulty in the way at present is the opposition or lack of support by the tea-planters ; but I venture to assert that this difficulty is made more apparent than real. The same arguments were used by the sugar-planters in British Guiana, but these have faded into thin mist after experiment and practice under legal ordinance. Nowadays it would be hard to find a sugar-planter still maintaining the benighted delusion that the provision of simple elementary learning is inimical to the interests of the estates' proprietors.

Sir Lepel Griffin has expressed his opinion that the Government should "insist" that this elementary training should be provided.

The idea of setting apart two hours in the early *afternoon* for schooling is open to more than one obvious objection apart from depriving the employer of so much labour and the children of a corresponding wage. It would, I am sure, be much better to open school in the early *morning*, say from 6.30 to 8.30, when the children's minds would be fresh and their bodies clean. This arrangement would release them for field-work for eight hours at least, quite sufficient to enable them to earn a full day's wage, and scarcely less than would be required by any reasonable employer.

Sir West Ridgeway, as chairman at the meeting of the Royal Colonial

Institute, declared that there was no education rate in Ceylon, adding : "*Can anyone imagine a more heavenly state of things ?*" Surely a strange deduction in view of an admitted educational deficiency ! He demonstrates that the colony, having no education rate, can well afford to be liberal, and it should therefore follow that the Government is not only justified in the expenditure, but *bound* to see the matter through.

If this view is correct the Government, failing to obtain the unanimous support of the planters, should firmly back the conviction by voting funds to cover initial expenses, *which need not be heavy*, and bring in a law to prohibit employment of children before 8 or 8.30 a.m.

If this were done as a tentative measure, I venture to prophesy that in a very short time the benefits would be apparent to even the most conservative objector, whether European or native.

In conclusion, I feel sure you will excuse my intrusion on a subject with which I am not directly concerned, pleading as I do merely a sentimental interest in the welfare of children from whom labour is demanded by employers who cannot conscientiously evade responsibilities which civilization on the other hand demands from them.

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

H. MITCHELL TAYLOR.

RUGBY,

*April 21, 1904.*

Mr. H. Mitchell Taylor on May 17 further writes to Mr. Wise :

DEAR MR. WISE,

I would willingly render you any assistance in my power to forward your views, but fear I can be of little use, owing to my having had no residential experience in Ceylon.

(a) Always keeping in view the differing circumstances in the two colonies, the British Guiana system, so far as compulsory provision of elementary education and the penal clauses, might form a fair basis ; but it must not be forgotten that the Government in that colony holds a strong card in hand—*i.e.*, the right to refuse to supply any indentured immigrants at any time when the law has not been complied with, and this forms a buffer resort before actually putting in force the penal clauses. The system works well now on the whole, as individual opposition on the part of the planters is almost entirely extinct, although only an increasing majority has so far fully entered into the spirit of the scheme.

(b) The only pitfall I can imagine would be any attempt on the part of the executive, and more especially the officer charged with the initial exercise of the approved scheme, and in that capacity brought in direct contact with the planters, to attempt to meet any opposition otherwise than with the utmost tact and discretion. Any obtrusive attempt to meet opposition with the power of the law, except in a flagrant instance, would delay what I am convinced must be the final approval and acceptance of the Government system. It goes without saying that no action under the penal clauses should be taken except with the fiat of the Attorney-General

with the written approval of the Governor.\* Passive Resistance, which I consider very unlikely to be adopted in a tropical climate, should be passively ignored, or, at the most, treated with compassionate complacency.

My experience has taught me that it is most valuable to have a law on the statutes which can be resorted to in an emergency, after a wise discretion and tact have failed. A law without a penalty attached to breach is neither more nor less than a farce, and the Government should have the courage of its convictions in policy as expressed in its laws, *or play to lose*.

As suggested briefly in my previous letter to you, the Ceylon scheme should include a penalty for the employment of children under a fixed age, and within a certain qualification, before, say, 8.30 a.m., to enable the children to attend school.

This negative provision alone should be all that would be required from the planter *at first*. The Government should pay a small salary to a man capable of teaching reading, writing and ciphering, on each estate, with encouragement according to results, such teachers to be under the direct control of an official with some knowledge of the vernacular. Materials and registers should be as simple as possible, subject to efficient provision, record and check, on which to base reports by such officer for submission to the Governor through the educational authorities, although, in this connection, I think the system should otherwise be independent of the *general* educational scheme of the colony.

Finally, I may say that if a scheme on some such broad lines be put in train, I feel convinced that all opposition on the part of the planters and the parents would dissolve under the genial influence of tact backed by a firm attitude on the part of the Government, supported by a penal law ("sheathed in a velvet scabbard").

It is not likely that any planter would in the circumstances face the ordeal of posing as an opponent to a branch of civilizing and educational policy recognised as one of the imperial responsibilities of a dominant race.

Believe me,

Yours, etc.,

H. MITCHELL TAYLOR.

#### "THE FUTURE OF INDIA," BY "GAUTAMA."

SIR,

I have lately received from India a little booklet called "The Future of India,"† by a gentleman who modestly (or should we say audaciously?) conceals his identity under the honoured name of "Gautama," which has not, I think, been noticed in your pages. I venture, therefore, to send you a few comments on it in the belief that your readers may be glad to have it brought to their notice, as, in my opinion, there is nothing in it of which even the original Gautama need have been ashamed.

\* See British Guiana. Elementary Education Ordinance, No. 14, 1876, § 36.

† Srinavāsa, Varadachari and Co., Madras, 1903.

The author seems to look upon education as almost a panacea for all the ills that India suffers from, and I have always been a consistent advocate for what used to be called "schooling," because I never could see how any villager could avoid being entirely at the mercy of the village accountant or the village banker unless he at least knew how to read, write, and cipher. But that, of course, is not education in the real sense of the term, and it is certain that a people may be made into a nation without any knowledge of the three "R's." I agree, however, that with a rigid system of caste nothing of the kind is possible. His idea that the masses of the people must not only be "educated" (whatever is meant by that much-abused term), but also be inspired with definite political aspirations, perhaps goes beyond what is absolutely necessary; because it seems doubtful if the great bulk of the common people in any country were ever inspired by such ideas or "educated" at all till quite lately, and very imperfectly even then. They have always, I think, followed some more or less inspired leader or leaders with a vague idea of improving their own position in the State. Even yet, and even in the most "advanced" countries, they seem to be quite at the mercy of professional politicians, and are only too ready to be blown about by every wind of doctrine. "Gautama's" suggestion that every native of India should learn English will no doubt astonish those reactionary persons, including, I am sorry to say, even the *Spectator*, who think everything necessary can be taught through the medium of the vernaculars. But if the French can make everyone in Pondicherry learn French, surely we might do the same with our much more useful language. "Why not?" as our author says. No one can be said to know his own language thoroughly unless he knows at least one other, and a bilingual people like those of Jersey have an immense advantage over the too insular Briton, who so often knows no other language than his own. Moreover, it is quite true, as our author says, that some knowledge of "the English language and literature widens the mental horizon so that the student understands things in a manner impossible to any amount of vernacular knowledge." To read any work in a translation ("the conversion of a horse into an ass") is by no means the same thing.

There is so much sound common-sense packed into this little volume that I can only briefly refer to many of the subjects of which he treats; but I may say that the chapters on the woman question, the caste system, and the reform of the Indian clergy, seem beyond all praise. Chentsal Rau's advice, that every man holding a high position should take a solemn pledge *never to encourage men belonging to his own caste or sect* to the prejudice of aspirants for office belonging to other castes or sects is worthy of his high reputation, and would, if generally adopted, go far to start the people on their way to become a serious nation. It is, however, a very high ideal, perhaps not realized in any country—certainly not yet in England.

The weak points in the Indian character are mercilessly probed, and the new "Gautama" even ventures to assert that, with all its poverty, there



is still "a great deal of waste" in the country. Nothing truer or more caustic has ever been said by any English critic than the explanation why so many admirable leaders of the reform movement fail to get their followers to follow them through thick and thin. "The cause," he says, "lies principally in the fact that you are very good followers of your own customs whether good or bad, and *of your priests and grandmothers.*" The climax is quite appalling. I am neither a Hindu priest nor a Hindu grandmother, or I might object to such withering contempt of two venerable institutions, and even as an English grandfather I am not sure that I altogether appreciate such reflections on the "wisdom of our ancestors." But I am not, of course, prepared to deny the applicability of the criticism in the case of our Hindu brethren.

J. P.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON, 1904.

1. *The Punjab in Peace and War*, by S. S. THORBURN, I.C.S. (ret.), late Financial Commissioner in the Punjab, etc. In these days, when time is of some value, men of reading look at the two ends of a volume—the Contents and the Index; for one gives the reader a bird's-eye view of the method of the argument and the marshalling of the subject-matter, while the other affords the key to the numerous details. In these important respects the present volume prepossesses one at the very outset. The type, moreover, is clear and easily legible, as well in the footnotes as in the text. The author's idea (p. 25) of indicating by means of the usual marks the correct pronunciation of an Indian word on the first occasion of its appearance in the book is surely a commendable one; it is necessary, and it is therefore useful. Persons who have never resided in India cannot reasonably be expected to know the appropriate sounds—the quantity of a vowel or the place of accentuation. We must say that with very few exceptions the spelling and pronunciation which the author gives to the names and other Indian words in this volume are more than usually accurate. Although this work is compiled by a member of the legal branch of the Indian Services, yet it is pre-eminently a book for the historian of military tactics—a fact which redounds to the credit of the author's versatility. It is one of the many volumes that have been appearing for more than forty years past, on the perennial subject of the Mutiny times. Besides this, however, it deals largely with the history of our dealings with the Frontier tribes, as also of our administration of the Punjab from the time of Lord Lake to that of the present Viceroy—bringing the whole narrative up to date. As to the causes of our many Frontier imbragios the writer is very outspoken. The views he expresses regarding the Afghan War of 1878, and the wars with the Afridis and other border tribes, are in the main identical with those that were expressed at the time by some few of the publicists of those days, who were called "fanatical" for their pains, and certain of whose names were struck off the list of visitors to Government House, Calcutta. But time "brings its own revenges," however slowly. The men who upheld the policy of the Crimean War came at last to see, what the opponents of that piece of criminal folly were always pointing out, that we "put our money on the wrong horse" on that occasion. In like manner we find that some of the officials of the Government of India, who in the days of Lord Lytton dared not, under penalties, expose the bullying policy which led up to the Afghan War, have since those fateful times taken the very side which was considered to entitle a certain distinguished Calcutta journalist, long since gone to his account, to be shut up in a lunatic asylum. The views expressed by Mr. Thorburn in the closing pages of this volume, respecting the Government procedure in recent times, are of the very essence of righteousness, and are not a whit too strong.

The book is educative and formative in the best sense of these words. It will leave an impress for good on the inner life of many a young man who looks to India for a career. It will be particularly fascinating to army men and to men of the Administrative Services generally, among whom we venture to predict for it an interested study and a more than average run of popularity.

Very important, too, is the list given at the end of the work, of the sources from which the author has drawn his information. He is not, however, a mere index-hunter and copyist. Every page shows that he is in love with his subject and has well digested the material. The evidence of this is to be seen on every page, in the live character of the sentences; every page is instinct with reality and life; every sentence is part of the vital organism of the narrative. In closing the work we can say that we have seldom read a volume on the thrilling story of our conquest of India which has so prepossessed us.

There is also, at the end of the volume (the right place for it, surely,) a good map of that portion of the great Sutlej River, along whose banks many of the scenes depicted were enacted. The brave and resourceful conduct of many of our splendid Punjab men, notably of the brothers Lawrence, has a due portion in the narrative, and the memorable story of our acquisition of the celebrated "Koh-i-Noor" is graphically told. When, however, the author tells us that this gem is "historically" the most valuable diamond in the world, we have no dispute with him; but when he states that it is "intrinsically" the most valuable (p. 13) we are reminded of *other* diamonds, both in India and in Europe, that are larger, more lustrous, and more precious. If, instead of saying this brilliant of the English crown was the most "valuable in the world," the author had said "in the British Empire," we should have seen nothing to take exception to. Upon the whole, Mr. Thorburn has given to the world yet another well-written contribution to the touching and splendid story of the conquest of India by British diplomacy, prowess, and pluck.—B.

— — — — —

BENGAL SECRETARIAT PRESS; CALCUTTA, 1903.

2. *Report on the Excavations at Pātaliputra (Patna)—the Palibothra of the Greeks*, by L. A. WADDELL, M.B., LL.D., Lieut.-Colonel Indian Medical Service. The author gives a very minute and interesting account of the discovery of the site of this ancient city, accompanied with plans, well-executed maps, numerous illustrations, and valuable appendices. He sums up the whole of the results of his research as follows: "One of the most promising of all the lost sites for the recovery of the early history of India has been found, together with some of its monuments. Where no trace of the sculptured stones of Asoka's great capital was suspected to exist a few years ago, there have now been unearthed many of the actual sculptures, some of which seem to be quite the oldest yet found in India, and others amongst the oldest. There has been found a colossal pillar of Asoka, of about B.C. 250, lying deeply buried and unsuspected close to the main line of the East India Railway. In respect to the question of the

indebtedness of the early civilization of ancient India to the West, there have been unearthed amongst other objects a colossal capital of quasi-Ionic style, with Assyrian conventional ornamentation. This, the most Greek thing, perhaps, yet found in India, except the friezes in Asoka's edict-pillars and the later so-called "Græco-Buddhist sculptures of the Panjab, has been found in Asoka's own capital, in the heart of India, and is probably of Asoka's own epoch. The old city and palace boundaries have been defined in several places by means of what seems to be the vestiges of the ancient beam-palisade as described by Megasthenes and by other topographical and excavated features, and several of the important sites located have been beyond all doubt." Dr. Waddell thinks that, with the information thus now made available, it is possible to take up the excavation of the more promising sites in detail, so as to recover inscriptions; but it would be necessary to dig very deep, as the structures lie hidden deep down in the accumulated mud and débris of over twenty-two centuries.

---

CASSELL AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON, PARIS, NEW YORK, AND  
MELBOURNE.

3. *The Khedive's Country: The Nile Valley and its Products*, edited by G. MANVILLE FENN. The editor, in a prefatory note, acknowledges that he is indebted to Mr. Thomas Wright, the superintendent of the Khedive's agricultural estates near Cairo, for the main portion of the practical information contained in this well-got-up volume, with its numerous and very interesting illustrations. Mr. Wright has for years been carrying on the reclamation of various tracts of land in the Delta, experiments in breeding and improving agricultural stock, and the formation of model farms and experimental gardens. The result has been most satisfactory, and by skill and perseverance Egypt may yet become, as in the past, one of the great granaries of the world.

---

THE CHICAGO UNIVERSITY PRESS; CALLAGHAN AND CO., CHICAGO;  
LUZAC AND CO., LONDON, 1904.

4. *The Code of Hammurabi, King of Babylon (about 2250 B.C.): Auto-graphed Text, Transliteration, Translation, Glossary, Index of Subjects, Lists of Proper Names, Signs, Numerals, Corrections, and Erasures, with Map, Frontispiece, and Photograph of Text*, by ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, PH.D., Professor of the Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago, Director of the Babylonian Section of the Oriental Exploration Fund of the University of Chicago, Managing Editor of the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. Hammurabi has been identified with Amraphel, King of Shinar (Gen. xiv. 1); hence the intense interest and importance of the elucidation which this work exhibits of the monument on which the Code of Hammurabi is engraved, found in December, 1901, and January, 1902, on the acropolis of Susa, by an expedition of the French Government under the chief direction of M. de Morgan. It is described of "black diorite, nearly eight feet high, broken into three pieces which were easily rejoined." The

whole code, most interesting in itself, is produced in the present handsome volume with admirable skill and distinctness. It confines itself to what is indicated by the title-page. The second volume, not yet published, will discuss the code in its connection with the Mosaic Code, to which we look forward with much interest.

---

CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY; SALISBURY SQUARE, LONDON, E.C., 1904.

5. *The Wonderful Story of Uganda*, by the REV. J. D. MULLINS, M.A., Secretary of the Colonial and Continental Church Society, joint author of "The Missionary Speaker's Manual." To which is added "The Story of Ham Mukasa," told by himself.

This most interesting volume is based on a series of articles published in the *Church Missionary Gleaner* of two years ago, but it is partly rewritten, added to, and brought down to the present date. It is not a history of Uganda, but a vivid and picturesque narrative of scenes of extraordinary interest, in the civilization of this part of Africa. Twenty-five years ago the Gospel had not been known, and there was no written language; but now it is the home of thirty thousand Christians under Christian chiefs; its language has been reduced to writing; the whole Bible translated into their own tongue; the people support their own ministry, and undertake Christian missions to the countries round, and they have enriched the roll of martyrs with many names. So rapid is the transformation that it is full of wonder and amazement. From a statistical table annexed to the works, we find there were in 1897 10 native clergy, in 1902 there were 27; in 1892 there were 36 male and female lay teachers, in 1892 there were 2,199; in 1887 there were 300 native Christians, in 1902 there were 38,844; in 1892 there were 400 scholars, in 1902 there were 12,861. These are remarkable figures.

The autobiography of Ham Mukasa, translated by Archdeacon Walker, is remarkable, giving the feelings and notions of a native from boyhood until, by the grace of God, he became a Christian. Ham was one of the chiefs who came to attend the Coronation of our King. The illustrations are well executed, and there are valuable appendices, consisting of works of travel, geography, and missions; books on the language, books on Uganda, books in Lunyoro, blue-books and Parliamentary papers, chronology of Uganda and the Uganda mission, lists of missionaries (clerical and lay), and a table of statistics, to which we have already referred. The book contains a record of one of the most remarkable illustrations, in our day, of the progress of the Christian faith in dark Africa, which will, no doubt, have in the future striking results in the whole of Africa and in the regions of the Nile.

---

THE CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1904.

6. *A Hand-book of the Ordinary Dialect of the Tamil Language*, by the REV. G. U. POPE, M.A., D.D., Balliol College, Oxford. Seventh edition.

This admirable work was first written in order to afford the acquisition of a language, ancient and interesting in itself, a knowledge of which will

greatly facilitate free intercourse between Hindūs and people of the West. The language is the vernacular speech of about thirteen millions of people inhabiting the great plain of the Carnatic, as well as in the Tamil colony of Ceylon. Tamil communities are also to be found in most of the British cantonments in the Dekkan, and in various colonies of the Empire. The work, originally published in 1855, has since passed through various forms, and has now reached its present form in a seventh edition, giving effect to the author's experience, for very many years, as a teacher and an earnest student of Tamil and kindred tongues. The present edition gives, in an introduction, a short sketch of those languages which are allied to Tamil, and also a copious and useful index. The student will find it an excellent hand-book.

C. J. CLAY AND SONS; CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE,  
AVE MARIA LANE, LONDON, 1904.

7. *Horæ Semiticae*, by AGNES SMITH LEWIS, LL.D., etc. This is No. 4 of the "*Horæ Semiticae*" series, and it is described by the indefatigable authoress as "*The Mythological Acts of the Apostles.*" It is translated from an Arabic manuscript in the Convent of Deyr-es-Suriāni in Egypt, and from manuscripts in the Convent of St. Catherine (on Mount Sinai) and in the Vatican Library. How the word "mythological" came to be preferred by the learned authoress to the word "apocryphal," is readily seen on a perusal of the work. Even the word "legendary" would have been too good. It is, in fact, *garbled* history, and reminds one of nothing in literature so much as the garbled version of Scripture narratives embodied in the Qor'an, with the like tedious and trumped-up tales of the miraculous, invented by unknown persons who could hardly have expected their stories to have been believed by any. The canonical Scriptures contain no hint of the manner of the death of any of the Apostles excepting "James, the brother of John" (see Acts xii. 2). With the single exception of John, however, all the Apostles (including Matthias and Paul) met their death by martyrdom, as did also the Evangelists Mark and Luke—so, at all events, these documents set forth. It would be interesting to learn upon what writings such an opinion rests. Of the manner of the death of the first Christian martyr nothing is said in the present work, though in the *canonical* "*Acts of the Apostles*" the subject is set forth in considerable detail. Nothing, of course, is here said respecting the death of the betrayer. The legendary account of the manner of the death of the Apostle John, however, is here given in detail, though the work is a martyrology, of a sort. The absence of the usual sign of canonization in these documents before the names of the Apostles and Evangelists is suggestive, and worthy of note. The work contains the accounts usually accepted, we believe, in the Papal Church and some of the other Churches, of the kind of death which the Apostles and Evangelists are supposed to have died. To what extent these accounts are deserving of credence, it remains for those who accept them to show. Mrs. Lewis's part, however, in bringing these documents to light has been altogether admirably done. Both her part and the part of the

printers are fully up to the standard of the previous works of the series. The work is in two volumes, the one containing the Arabic and Syriac originals, together with some photographs of leaves of the codices, and the other containing translations into English. The history of the MSS. and of the entire undertaking is, with evident painstaking, prefixed to the second volume, together with a great deal of information which will be valued by scholars and theologians. In putting forth such work these two distinguished ladies are rendering a real service to the interests of revealed religion. They are supplying for theologians a literature which, but for their rare industry, learning, and enthusiastic devotion to this their own chosen department of honoured toil, would probably have remained a *terra incognita* to the ordinary reader for all time. They are thus showing how much of good can be obtained, even at this late hour, from the hard field of Shemitic studies.—B.

---

DEIGHTON, BELL AND CO., CAMBRIDGE; GEORGE BELL AND  
SONS, LONDON, 1904.

8. *Across Siberia with a Baby, and A Visit to a Chinese Prison.* Two papers by the REV. A. T. POLHILL, M.A., formerly of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, now of the China Inland Mission at Sui-Ting-Fu. Edited, with a preface, by ROBERT SINKER, D.D. Dr. Sinker, in his preface, tells us that in the autumn of 1902 Mr. Polhill decided to return to China with his wife and child and sister-in-law, and, since the ladies rather dreaded the sea-voyage, he determined to travel by the Siberian Railway. He is the first English missionary who has travelled by this route. The narrative is exceedingly interesting. It includes his journey from Moscow to Lake Baikal, thence to Manchuria, Port Arthur to Shanghai and the west. Also a visit to a Chinese prison, with an appendix and numerous illustrations taken by the writer himself as he proceeded on his journey. He says: "On the whole I found the Russians kind and hospitable, and not in the least reserved or anglophobic—not a trace of it among our fellow-passengers. They sympathized with us in our difficulties (not knowing the language), and tried always to help us with the language, and showed us really very great kindness." The various railway officials and the passengers are all described, as well as the accommodation on the railway, the stations, and the natives at the stations. The route is much shorter than by sea. Mr. Polhill states: "The fact that we came across from London to Shanghai, 8,000 miles, by the overland route across Siberia in twenty-five days, instead of six weeks, as we did by P. and O. steamer returning to China the last time, is a thing that speaks for itself." The traveller from England to China will read the narrative with pleasure, interest, and profit.

---

HARPER AND BROTHERS; LONDON AND NEW YORK, 1904.

9. *Greater America*, by ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN. This book, to which it is impossible to do full justice in a short preliminary notice, should exercise an influence on events in the near future. "Greater America" is America in expansion, America taking her place as a

world power, and entering on her career as one of the great governing factors of world politics. Westward across the Pacific America fronts the "Far East" of the old world, and in the diplomatic discussions which must follow the armed conflict in Manchuria, Great Britain and the United States, if they work together, may exert an influence as great in extent as beneficial in character.

The latter chapters of Mr. Colquhoun's book bear directly on the situation in the Far East, of which, as is well known, there is no more competent exponent, and it is to these chapters that the student of high politics will first turn as well as the ordinary reader anxious to obtain a clear view of passing events. For all that, however, "Greater America" is true to its title, and gives a clear and vivid account of the modification of the original British stock of the old colonies and its expansion across the continent, as well as of those later developments which have brought America into the field of world politics, and necessitated her becoming a naval power.

Mr. Colquhoun shows how the Anglo-Saxons of the States, like their cousins of the old country, have continued to spread themselves over the earth even when such expansion has contradicted the political philosophy that chanced to be in favour at the time. Indeed, this is not the only point in which in American history theory and practice have been in conflict, as is perhaps not surprising when we remember that American publicists stereotyped the political and social speculations of the eighteenth century. The way in which this perpetual conflict between theory and practice is worked out and shown to have an intimate bearing on American history is one of the most valuable features of Mr. Colquhoun's book. The theory, for example, of universal equality accords ill with the practice of race domination. The fault, indeed, lies with the theory which is founded on a misreading of the facts of human nature, but the pity of it is that it puts the American in a false position, and makes him in his dealings with inferior races less paternal and more arbitrary than the Briton.

The field surveyed by Mr. Colquhoun is very wide, and his account of the Philippines, which he has visited and studied on the spot; of the West Indies and Trans-Isthmian Canal, in which also he gives us the fruits of personal investigation; and of the "Latin" civilization of South America—a term which, in spite of Lord Beaconsfield's criticism, perhaps finds its justification in history—are all valuable and pleasant reading. The same may be said of an interesting digression on the relative fitness of Britons and Americans for governing tropical races, which brings to light unexpected differences in training and in national ideals.—C. P. S.

---

ISBISTER AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON, 1904.

10. *Manchuria and Corea*, by H. I. WHIGHAM. Mr. Whigham's book is excellent, convincing, and amusing reading, and, to one who has recently returned from Russia, a very vivid picture of the roistering, good-natured, careless, improvident, corrupt Muscovite officialdom. That he should have conceived in 1900-1901 exaggerated impressions of the



Russian Power, and of the hopelessness of Japan's ever standing up to it, is not to be much wondered at, for very few "white" persons, even those who have lived longest in Japan, seem capable of in the least understanding the depth of intelligence, vigour, and determination lying perdu in the breasts of the gallant "yellow" islanders. How Mr. Whigham travelled right up to Harbin without passport and without ticket; how he hobnobbed with the very persons whose duty it was to arrest him; how he subsequently took part with the gallant Colonel Genke in a naval hunt for "Chunchuses" (*i.e.*, *Hung-hu-tsz*, or "Red Beards" = highwaymen)—all these and many other things and incidents are related in a charmingly frank and sympathetic way. It is sad to think into what a mess the recklessness of a pack of blusterers has now landed the usually prudent St. Petersburg Government. Had the Russians simply kept to their bare voluntary promises, and thrown open their railway generally to the world, as the Canadian Pacific Railway has been thrown open, the sympathies of Great Britain would have been at once secured; and those of America, Japan, and, of course, those of France and Germany, would have followed as a matter of course. The short career of prosperity the through line had last year proves the mighty development it was capable of sustaining. Every penny spent upon the Siberian and Manchurian lines—even though in great part squandered—would have found its speedy indirect return, and there is no sound political reason why this should not have been so. But one lie has led to another; greedy speculators have intervened; a tangled web of deceit has been deliberately woven; Russia has at last been hopelessly enveloped in the meshes of her own toils. The Pokoutloffs, Bezobrazoff's, Pauloff's, and Alexeieff's have simply "bluffed" their country into utter ruin, and it will probably take a whole century to recover the economic equilibrium so painfully reached by M. Witte ten years ago. In spite of all this, there seems to be no real feeling of dislike between the generous peoples of Great Britain and Russia. Wherever they meet, they like each other. Most Englishmen, whilst sticking faithfully to their own ally, would much like to see that brave ally shake hands warmly and be friends once more with gallant Russia, whose blunders have been those rather of a wayward child than of a wickedly calculating man. It is only to be hoped that crafty Germany will not ultimately find a furtive opportunity, under the specious cloak of friendship, for advancing her unsympathetic interests at Russia's cost when Russia is exhausted. Certainly nothing ungenerous will be done by England.—E. H. P.

---

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, NEW YORK, AND BOMBAY.

11. *Fasciculi Malayenses. Anthropological and Zoological Results of an Expedition to Perak and the Siamese Malay States, 1901-1902.* Undertaken by Nelson Annandale and Herbert C. Robinson, under the auspices of the University of Edinburgh and the University of Liverpool. Part II.: Zoology.

In our January number we had the pleasure of giving a short notice of Parts I. and II. of this interesting work. The present part is equal to the

former parts, the illustrations are exceedingly well executed, and the letter-press descriptions are most interesting to students of natural history. Also *Supplement, Map and Itinerary*. This is an addition to the report, and consists of a general account, personal, zoological, and anthropological, of the places visited and the country traversed. It is divided into three parts as follows: Part I. deals with South Perak and Selangor, Central and Upper Perak; Part II. Senggora, Patalung and Trang; Part III. the Patani States and Kedah (Rhaman, Patani, Jalor, Nawngchik, Jhering, and Kedah). It is illustrated by several photographs, together with an illustrative map.

LUZAC AND CO., LONDON; E. J. BRILL, LEYDEN, 1903.

12. Part II. of the *Lubābu'l-Albāb of Muhammad 'Awfi*. Edited in the original Persian, with preface, indices, and variants, by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., etc., Sir Thomas Adams' Professor of Arabic, Fellow of Pembroke College, and sometime Lecturer in Persian in the University of Cambridge.

This is Vol. II. of Professor Browne's *Historical Texts*, inaugurated two years ago by the publication of Dawlatshāh's "Memoirs of the Poets." The author says: "This work is both ancient and rare, and has hitherto been inaccessible to the majority of Orientalists. It was composed some 250 years earlier than Dawlatshāh's "Memoirs," and is, so far as is known, the oldest book of the kind which has been preserved to us." It appears that a MS. copy was generously lent to the author by the owner (Lord Crawford), a volume consisting of 608 pages, containing nineteen lines to the page. After having copied the first 130 pages, he came to the conclusion that the second part of the work (which forms the contents of this volume) was more interesting and important than the first part, other work preventing him from pushing forward the transcription as fast as he wished, when he was asked by the owner to return the MS., which was done, leaving pages 129 to 265 still uncopied. The MS. was soon sold, and placed in the John Rylands Library in Manchester, where, unfortunately, the author doubts if the MS. will be accessible there within any reasonable time. This explains how the second part has been published before the first. The size of the work rendered division necessary. The volume has been well printed by Messrs. Brill, of Leyden.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED, LONDON; THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, NEW YORK, 1904.

13. *The Life of the Marquis of Dalhousie, K.T.*, by SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER, K.C.S.I., in two volumes. In these volumes, of about 500 pages each, we have the noble record of a noble career. Born in 1812, and going to India as Governor-General in 1849, the subject of the present work was one of the youngest of all the men who have ever held that high position. He continued in office nearly eight years, having left India but a few months before the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny. Efforts were made by unfriendly hands to trace that dire event to the policy of the

noble Marquis; and in seeking to show the fallacy of such reasoning, Sir William Lee-Warner has necessarily something to say on the Mutiny also. To this day, even, there still are many who hold to the theory of the "greased cartridges"; but what the true cause of the Mutiny may have been is still an unsettled question, and seeing that the world is now nigh fifty years older than it was in those days, while all the men of action have, with but one or two exceptions, passed into the silence, it is not likely that the immediate cause of that disastrous event will ever be known. From all that we can gather, it was the culminating point of a series of causes that had long been in operation, below the surface of things, and not within the cognizance of any of the ruling powers of the time. With a man of the irascible and pugnacious temperament of Sir Charles Napier in the ticklish position of Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, people might hold themselves prepared for anything.

Men who, like Lord Dalhousie, owe their greatness, not to birth or fortune, but to their own distinguished ability and genius, make a subject great. The story of his reign presents a noteworthy instance of the happy combination of "the hour and the man." The compiler uses of Dalhousie the well-known phrase "the Uncrowned King of India." Such, to be sure, is *every* Governor-General of that land; but though we have had, exceptions aside, some of the noblest types of the British character on the viceregal throne, yet the epithet applies in a peculiar sense to Lord Dalhousie. Even to this day, to be "second to Dalhousie" is the highest praise that can be given to any Viceroy. It is, thus, a clear proof that genuine godliness is no drawback to the efficient discharge of the obligations of the highest position under the Crown.

The change from "Governor-General" to "Viceroy" was a change of title, and something more. Up to the time of Lord Dalhousie the Governors-General were representatives of the Honourable East India Company—that is, of the Court of Directors. Up to the time of the alteration of the title, England's principal representative in India received his authority from that Court, but the alteration of the title implied that he received it from the Sovereign and the Government of the day. This involved some important changes—such, for example, as the number of guns to which a Viceroy is entitled on occasions of public salute, the Governors-General having received only nineteen guns. This point is very important indeed in the estimation of Indian people, high or low. The "Company," moreover, was originally a *trading* concern; but from the time of the change of title all the official representatives of the Crown, from the Viceroy downward, were forbidden to carry on trade, of any sort or kind, with the people whom they governed. In the service of the Crown they became the recipients of salaries and pensions becoming the dignity. These are only a *few* of the particulars in which the office of "Viceroy" differs from the older office of "Governor-General"; it is not unusual, in official parlance, to speak in these days of one and the same personage under the combined designation of "Viceroy and Governor-General."

The subject dealt with in these volumes includes some of the greatest

names and some of the greatest deeds of the nineteenth century, and it has to do with some of the greatest of the events that led to the formation and consolidation of the British Empire in Asia, for the history of a great man is ever the history of his times. The number of the men of the Indian Services (Civil, Military, Educational, etc.) whose deeds appear in this "Life" is indeed very great, and includes some of the finest examples of devoted service to be found even in *Indian* annals. It embraces the period of Macaulay's service, which, brief though it was, was fraught with lasting benefit to the cause of education. To enumerate all the reforms that were introduced and carried into effect during the reign of this distinguished servant of the Empire would occupy more space than we can command; the reader will be able to follow them for himself as he peruses this admirable record of a unique career. If it is true that the greatness of Lord Dalhousie's coadjutors in the Administration is reflected in the greatness of the Chief himself, it is no less true that the distinction attained by those men was largely owing to the wisdom, geniality, and tact of their great Chief. They were happy in their Chief, and he was happy in his colleagues. The good effect of the salutary principle of "give and take," when in the right hands, was never more strikingly exemplified than in this instance. The only serious friction arose from the Commander-in-Chief of the Army. But with so excitable a man as Sir Charles Napier it was impossible for any man to work harmoniously. Strained relations with those who stood connected with him in the public service were but the uniform and outstanding fact of his life. It was Lord Dalhousie's misfortune that the Commander-in-Chief in his time was a man of such angularity, ambition, and restlessness, as a colleague in the Council Chamber and as one of his subordinates in the Government. Napier fought hard for the reversion of the Governor-Generalship: a "bull in a china-shop" would hardly have been more dangerous; it might have lost us the Empire. But with this single exception all the high officers of the Indian Services in Lord Dalhousie's time proved amenable to that unifying influence of the principle of *esprit de corps* which was so marked a characteristic of the greatest of Indian Viceroys. As a biography these two volumes may take rank with Morley's "Life of Gladstone"; but the appearance of the biography of so distinguished and epoch-making a ruler nearly fifty years after the close of his earthly career cannot be regarded as hasty.—B.

---

JOHN MURRAY; LONDON, 1903.

14. *The Middle Eastern Question, or Some Political Problems of Indian Defence*, by VALENTINE CHIROL. This book, which bears the unmistakable mark of the newspaper contributor, is the outcome of the wanderings of one of the *Times* correspondents before and after the Delhi Durbar, and in it the writer has attempted to sum up the situation in Mid Asia in its bearing upon the policy of Great Britain, and he has done it well. It is dedicated to Lord Curzon, and is full of admiration for his policy throughout the East.

The decadence of Persia is strongly insisted upon in the first part of the

book, and coeval with this decay has come the increase of the influence of Russia. It was not the Empress Catherine (as stated) who abolished the British Caspian trade in 1746, but our trade perished in the North, none the less, and was forced to betake itself by way of Bushire and the South. The Russians have followed up every advantage which has come to them since. The writer describes the situation of the different influences throughout Persia, from Baku—that strangely advanced town—to Muhammerah on the Gulf. Russian aggression is the keynote of the tale, and along with this has come the growth of Russian influence to the exclusion of that of every other nation. He shows the medievalism of Persia, and how it by its poverty has fallen both into the military and financial grip of its northern neighbour. British influence, never very strong, has waned as the Russian has increased, particularly in military matters. The only Persian regiment which can possibly be of use is that of the "Persian Cossacks," officered by Russians and commanded by the Shah's supporter, General Kosagowski, the rest of the army being, in Lord Curzon's phrase, "a loose aggregation of slovenly units." Russian influence is paramount in Teheran, and controls much of the trade, hindering foreign trade by vexatious quarantine laws, etc., and the finances also, even to the extent of issuing coined money, a symbol which has always been connected with superiority in the East. The growing poverty of the country is a painful feature, and one can see no direction in which to look for a native revival, unless it is to a renaissance of Babiism; but this, owing to the protection given to that unfortunate sect by Russia, would be likely to be Russophil in character also. We are given a résumé of our shiftless policy in Persia, our insufficient representation, our quasi abandonment of the friendly Bakhtiariis, the rise of German interest in the railway question, and our vacillation about Koweit. However, as this was written before Lord Curzon's tour, we may hope the future will not be as gloomy, and whatever our deficiencies in the past have been, we will allow no further decay of our authority in the Persian Gulf, either through French or German interference in the Persian Gulf, or by the increase of Russian influence in Seistan.

But if British prestige has decreased in Persia, the writer is not so certain that it has lessened appreciably in Afghanistan. The position of this State has changed greatly, none the less, the late Ameer having consolidated the country and formed a regular army. It behoves the British, therefore, to watch that no alien intrigues prevent this buffer State—always difficult to maintain relations with—becoming less friendly to its Indian neighbour.

Comparatively little is said of our position on the north-eastern frontier of India. We get, however, some notes of Kashmir, Nepal, Bhutan, and Sikkim. The turbulence of the last State led to the projected Macaulay Mission in 1884, and eventually to the recognition by the Chinese Amban at Lhasa in 1888 of our protectorate. This has, in its turn, forced upon us the Tibetan difficulty, which is the question of the hour, and the author shows that Russia, thinking Tibet "a second California," has indubitably been sending "missions," scientific or otherwise, thither.

Mr. Chirol ends his review of the British position with an account of the

important object-lesson given to the East by the Delhi Durbar, and by a clear chapter of retrospect and prospect. The prospect he gives is not a very encouraging one. The one counterpoise we have now to Russian, German, and French influence in Continental Asia, where our own name stood almost alone at the beginning of last century, is the rise of a power friendly to us in Japan ; but he points out, also, the improvement in our administration of India, and the immense wealth and consequent power that will accrue to the Indian Empire by the absorption of the kingdom of Burma, with its vast resources. Valuable appendices of treaties and correspondence relating to Persia, Russia, and the States of the Indian border are added to this well-compiled book, and these, with the careful study of the tangled Eastern question shown throughout, cannot fail to make the work a valuable one.—F. S.

---

GEORGE NEWNES, LIMITED; LONDON, 1904.

15. *The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles : Topographical, Statistical, and Commercial.* Compiled from the 1901 census and the latest official returns. Edited by J. G. BARTHOLOMEW, F.R.S.E., F.R.G.S., editor of "The Survey Atlas of England and Wales," "The Atlas of Scotland," etc. With appendices and special maps.

We have received Parts I. and II. The work is to be concluded in twenty parts at 7d. each. Part I. comes down to "Bane End," with beautiful coloured maps showing the distribution of green crops in the British Isles, and of corn crops ; also a coloured map showing the comparative density of population, and its growth in decennial periods from 1801 to 1901, also of the cities of Manchester and Edinburgh. Part II. ends in "Breretoncum-Smethwick." Also coloured maps, showing the comparative valuation of land ; also the distribution of Protestants and Roman Catholics of Ireland in 1901 ; also the cities of Glasgow and Birmingham. This Gazetteer is based on the ninety-six volumes containing the census of 1901, together with the 696 sheets of the one-inch Ordnance Survey of the United Kingdom. It also incorporates, in a clear type, the substance of all the principal works on British topography, statistics, and commerce. As a specimen of the minute information which it affords, we shall give what it states under the word "Abbey" in Scotland, as a district, village, or an ecclesiastical parish, known as *quoad sacra* :

ABBAY, *vil.* N.E. Stirlingshire, on r. Forth, 1½ m. N.E. of Stirling. 2, Abbey, a precinct in Canongate, *q.s.* (*i.e.*, *quoad sacra par.*), Edinburgh, containing Holyrood Palace and Abbey, and including the Queen's Park ; ancient sanctuary for insolvent debtors, now abolished. 3, Abbey, *q.s. par.*, on E. side of Edinburgh, adjacent to Abbey Hill Railway Station ; pop. 11,939. 4, Abbey, *vil.* in co. and 1½ m. E. of Haddington, on r. Tyne. Here stood a Cistercian nunnery (founded 1178), which was the meeting-place (1548) of the Parliament that arranged Queen Mary's marriage with the Dauphin. 5, Abbey, *q.s. par.* in Arbroath town, Forfarshire ; pop. 5,563. 6, Abbey, *q.s. par.* in Paisley, Renfrewshire ; pop., 15,057.

We shall notice several other parts, since received, in our next number.

T. FISHER UNWIN ; LONDON, 1904.

16. *China from Within : A Study of Opium Fallacies and Missionary Mistakes.* By ARTHUR DAVENPORT. This is a strange book, and by no means without shrewd insight ; but it roams so far and wide in search for instances and apt parallels, is so full of apparent paradox and so rich in iconoclastic diatribes, that the name of George Francis Train seems to ring persistently, if involuntarily, in our ears as we turn its pages—in other words, there is a touch of the “crank” about it. Even if Mr. Davenport’s well-known name had not at once betrayed his consular origin to old “China hands,” there are certain old-fashioned eccentricities in the Chinese spelling, such as “Gan”-king and Ch’ang-“gan,” which would have at once disclosed the cloven foot to a sinological hack. These peculiarities are redolent of paulo-post-Morrison days. Just as the reigning Czar of Russia once had his head cleft by a fanatic in Japan, so did the irate frying-pan of an angry Chinese matron descend upon Mr. Davenport as he was once endeavouring to settle a matrimonial quarrel somewhere in the “sixties,” and in the neighbourhood of Newchwang. If this “Chinese impression” has had any permanent effect upon the author’s judgment, it is certainly not an unkindly one ; for Mr. Davenport is full of genial sympathy for the industrious, hard-working, cheerful people amid whom he lived so long, and whose slippery rulers he used to nail so tightly to the counter in his palmy days. The missionaries come in for rather a warm quarter of an hour at his ex-consular hands, and (so far as we can take him seriously at all) he evinces a wholesome detestation of sanctimonious and unctuous humbug in general. There can be little doubt that he is right when he sets forth, according to the best of his ability, the true inwardness of the much-vexed Opium Question. But why he calls his book “China ‘from Within’” is not obvious. Surely it is “from without” with a vengeance ; for, besides innumerable parallels drawn from the Holy Scriptures, the missionary reports, *China’s Millions*, and other semi-divine sources, we have the Incas of Peru, the Abyssinians, Assyrians, Russians, Egyptians, Turks—in fact, almost every nation in the world, ancient and modern—raked in to provoke our appetites for the wise saws and modern instances he provides in such profusion. The book is eminently calculated to startle “all round,” and to shock everybody. The present writer, who once had the honour of serving under (which means also liking and respecting) Mr. Davenport, can well picture his former chief sardonically chuckling in the privacy of his sporting retreat over the multifarious feathers he is fluttering. Everyone who wishes to know what a duffer he himself is, and how easily water may be trained to run uphill, should at once hasten to purchase Mr. Davenport’s handy little book, the leading note of which is : “Most men are fools ; and I, Arthur Davenport, wear my tongue in my cheek.”—E. H. P.

---

# OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle, United Provinces, India, for the Year ending March 31, 1903*; also photographs and drawings referred to in the Report. The Report details the operations during the year by the officers of the Public Works Department in the restoration and conservation of historical and architectural monuments. The plates and sketches are well executed; the former are very beautiful, reflecting great credit on all the officials.

*The India List and India Office List for 1904, compiled from Official Records by Direction of the Secretary of State for India in Council* (London: Harrison and Sons, 59, Pall Mall, Booksellers to His Majesty and H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, 1904). This compilation, brought up to date, is invaluable. It contains complete information as to officers and officials in every department connected with our administration at home and in India. There is also a very clear map of the Indian Empire, and a copious index of names and topics contained in the work.

*On the Indian Sect of the Jains*, by JOHANN GEORG BÜHLER, C.I.E., LL.D., PH.D., Member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna, translated from the German, edited with an outline of Jaina mythology, by James Burgess, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E. (London: Luzac and Co., publishers to the India Office, 46, Great Russell Street, 1903). A translation from the German of an essay by the late Dr. Georg Bühler, read at the anniversary meeting of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of Vienna on May 26, 1887, now out of print. This translation has been prepared under the supervision of Dr. Burgess, who has added, in an appendix, Dr. Bühler's note on the authenticity of the Jaina tradition, incorporating with it a summary of what he subsequently expounded in proof of his thesis. There is also a short sketch of Jaina mythology by Dr. Burgess. The small volume, consisting of about 80 pages, will be interesting, both in Europe and America, as well as in India.

*Agricultural and Industrial Problems in India*, by ALFRED CHATTERTON, Professor of Engineering on special duty, Madras (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras). The object of the author in collecting in the present booklet his various articles and papers on the agricultural and industrial projects in India is to draw greater attention to the results in India of the scientific discoveries and inventions bearing upon the above subjects during the past fifteen years. These papers comprise the following: Water-lifts, Underground Water-supply, Well Irrigation, Cost of Power, Value of Wind-mills, Agricultural Education, Tanning in the Madras Presidency, Hand-weaving, Manual Training, Industrial Education. Mr. Chatterton gives us valuable information, and his proposals and suggestions deserve every consideration.

*The Wisdom of the East: Sayings of K'un'g the Master*, selected with an introduction by ALLEN UPWARD (the Orient Press, Editorial Offices, 168, Fleet Street, E.C.; trade offices, 26, Paternoster Square, E.C., 1904).



In Mr. Upward's neat and admirable introduction he explains that "the name 'Confucius' is an attempt on the part of Western missionaries to reproduce in Latin the sound of the Chinese *K'ung-fu-Tzse*, which may be rendered in English 'K'ung the Master.'" The introduction and the selections of some of the wise sayings of Confucius are well worth attention. We have only space for one of these sayings, which is as true now as in the time it was written: "Anciently men had three failings, which now, perhaps, are not to be found. The high-mindedness of antiquity showed itself in a disregard of small things; the high-mindedness of the present day shows itself in wild license. The stern dignity of antiquity showed itself in grave reserve; the stern dignity of the present day shows itself in quarrelsome perverseness. The stupidity of antiquity showed itself in straightforwardness. The stupidity of the present day shows itself in deceit."

*Stars of the Desert*, by LAWRENCE HOPE, author of "The Garden of Kama" (London: William Heinemann; New York: John Lane, 1903). A volume of verses, among which are "To Aziz: Songs of Mahomed Akram," "The River of Pearls at Fez," translation, "Syed Amir," "Rabat: Morocco," "Wind o' the Waste: on the Wall of Pekin," and many others.

*Climate: A Quarterly Journal of Health and Travel*, edited by CHARLES F. HARTFORD, M.A., M.D., Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, E.; and Castle, Lamb and Storr, 133, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C. The April number contains very important matter with respect to diseases in Africa and elsewhere, especially malaria. Dr. Flood, sanitary inspector at Ismailia, shows that, by following the results of Dr. Ross's discovery, "malaria has been almost stamped out in the short space of a year." From the tables quoted it appears that in 1897 there were 2,089 cases of malaria, while in 1903 there were only 209.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the following publications: *Some Economic Aspects of British Rule in India*, by G. Subramania Iyer, B.A., editor of "United India" and the "Swadesamitran" (The Swadesamitran Press, 117, Armenian Street, Madras);—*Godward Ho! A Symposium, with an Exposition of Truth in the Light of Grace, According to the Spiritual Experience of a Child of God*. Specially issued for the Ananda Mission by Satyananda S. Sarma, c/o the Secretary, Diffusion of Knowledge Agency (Anandashrama, Triplicane, Madras);—*Some Neglected Aspects of the Fiscal Question*, by John Shanks, Tubal Works, Barrhead, N.B. (Glasgow: David Bryce and Son, 1904);—*The Anglo-Russian Literary Society* (founded in 1893) *Proceedings*, February, March, and April, 1904 (printed for the Society at the Imperial Institute, London, S.W.);—*Hindu Social Progress*, being papers collected and edited by N. Subbarau Pantulu Garu, B.A., B.L., Fellow of the Madras University, and formerly Member of the Legislative Council, Madras (Madras: G. A. Natesan and Co.); also *Sakuntala*, by R. Vasudeva Row, B.A.; and *Aspects of the Vedanta* (to the memory of Max Müller);—Skrifter-utgifna af K. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala: *En Kinesisk Världs-*

*karta, fran 17: de Arhundradet* af K. Ahlenius, mit einem résumé in deutscher sprache; also *En Lang Pa Tigrè-Spraket, upptecknad ofversatt och förklarad*, af R. Lundström. Utgifren och öfversatt till tyska af Enno Littmann (Uppsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln (C. J. Lundström); and Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz);—*Annual Report of the Reformatory School at Yeravda for the Year 1903* (Bombay: Printed at the Government Central Press, 1904);—George Newnes, Ltd.: *The Captain, The Sunday Strand, The Strand Magazine, The Wide World Magazine*;—*Technics*, a magazine for technical students;—*A Technological and Scientific Dictionary*, edited by G. F. Goodchild, B.A., and C. F. Tweney; *C. B. Fry's Magazine*, and *The Survey Gazetteer of the British Isles*, with maps and plans, edited by J. G. Bartholomew, F.R.G.S.;—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental Research in Archæology, Ethnology, Literature, Religion, History, Epigraphy, Geography, Languages, etc. (Biblia Publishing Company, Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London: A. Constable and Co.);—*The Indian Review* (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Madras Review*;—*The Review of Reviews* (published by Horace Marshall and Son, 125, Fleet Street, London, E.C.);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* (Vienna: Alfred Hölder);—*The Contemporary Review*;—*The North American Review*;—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* (38, Conduit Street, London, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika* (Black Town, Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, continuing "Hebraica" (University of Chicago Press);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The Canadian Engineer* (Toronto: Biggar, Samuel and Co.);—*The Cornhill Magazine*;—*The Zoophilist and Animals' Defender*;—*Sphinx*. Revue critique embrassant le domaine entier de l'Égyptologie, publiée par Karl Piehl (Upsala: Akademiska Bokhandeln, C. J. Lundström; London: Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*. Revue de politique extérieure, paraissant le 1<sup>er</sup> et le 15 de chaque mois (Paris: Rue Bonaparte, 19);—*The Rapid Review* (C. Arthur Pearson, Henrietta Street, W.C.);—*The Theosophical Review* (The Theosophical Publishing Society, 161, New Bond Street, London, W.);—*The Board of Trade Journal* (with which is incorporated the *Imperial Institute Journal*), edited by the Commercial Department of the Board of Trade (Eyre and Spottiswoode, London, E.C.; Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh; Edward Ponsonby, Dublin);—*The British Empire Review*, the organ of the British Empire League, a non-partisan monthly magazine for readers interested in Imperial and Colonial affairs and literature (The British Empire League, 112, Cannon Street, London, E.C.);—*Climate*, a quarterly journal of Health and Travel, edited by C. F. Hartford, M.A., M.D.

(Travellers' Health Bureau, Leyton, E., and Castle, Lamb and Storr, 133, Salisbury Square, Fleet Street, E.C.) ;—*The Periodical* (London : Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, Amen Corner, E.C.)

We regret that want of space obliges us to hold over the notices of the following works : *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V., *Indo-Aryan Family. Eastern Group*, Part I, *Specimens of the Bengali and Assamese Languages*. Compiled and edited by G. A. Grierson, C.I.E., PH.D., D.LITT., I.C.S. (Calcutta : Office of the Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1903) ;—*Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, by H. L. Duff, of the British Central Africa Administration, with illustrations and map (London : George Bell and Sons, 1903) ;—*The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia, known also as the Moallakat*, translated from the original Arabic by Lady Anne Blunt, done into English verse by Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (London : Published by the translators. Printed and sold by the Chiswick Press, Tooks Court, Chancery Lane, 1903) ;—*The Second Afghan War, 1878-79-80 : Its Causes, its Conduct, and its Consequences*, by Colonel H. B. Hanna, formerly belonging to the Punjab Frontier Force, and late Commanding at Delhi, author of "Indian Problems," etc. With three maps. Vol. II. (Westminster : Archibald Constable and Co., Limited, 2, Whitehall Gardens, 1904) ;—*Le Messianisme dans l'Hétérodoxie Musulmane*, par E. Blochet (Paris : Librairie Orientale et Americaine ; J. Maisonneuve, Éditeur, 6, rue de Mezières et rue Madame 26, 1903) ;—*The Peril of the Sword* (concerning Havelock's relief of Lucknow, etc.), by Colonel A. F. P. Harcourt, author of "Jenetha's Venture," etc. Dedicated by permission to F.-M. Earl Roberts, K.G., V.C., Commander-in-Chief (London : Skeffington and Son, 34, Southampton Street, Strand, W.C., Publishers to His Majesty the King, 1903) ;—*Traité sur les Éléphants, leurs soirs habituels, et leur traitement dans les maladies*, par le Capitaine vétérinaire G.-H. Evans, A.V.D., Surintendant du département vétérinaire Civil de la Birmanie, Auteur d'un "Manuel sur les maladies du bétail et des poneys" (en anglais) et "Veterinary Materia Medica" (en Birman), etc. Traduit de l'Anglais, avec autorisation de l'auteur, par Jules Claine, Consul de France en Birmanie, Avec 41 figures et 8 planches trors texte (Paris : Librairie C. Reinwald : Schleicher Frères et C<sup>ie</sup>, Éditeurs, 15, rue des Saints-Pères, 1904) ;—*The New Era in South Africa, with an Examination of the Chinese Labour Question*, by Violet R. Markham, author of "South Africa Past and Present" (London : Smith, Elder and Co., 15, Waterloo Place, 1904) ;—*Poetical Tributes to the Late Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury, K.G.*, edited by Chas. F. Forshaw, LL.D., Member of the Council, Royal Society of Literature (London : Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., Limited, 1904) ;—*The Rise of English Culture*, by Edwin Johnson, M.A., author of "The Rise of Christendom," "The Pauline Epistles," "Antiqua Mater," etc., with a brief account of the author and his writings (London : Williams and Norgate, 14, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden ; New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904) ; *Le Palais d'Angkor Vat, ancienne résidence des rois Khmers*, par le Général De Beylie

(Hanoi: F.-H. Schneider, Imprimeur-Éditeur, 1903);—*Turkish Life in Town and Country*, by Lucy M. J. Garnett, with twenty-two illustrations (London: George Newnes, Limited);—*The Nile Reservoir Dam at Assuân, and After*, [by Sir William Willcocks, K.C.M.G., M.INST.C.E., Managing Director Daira Sania Company; late Director-General of Reservoirs, Egypt; author of "Egyptian Irrigation." Second edition (London: E. and F. N. Spon, Limited, 125, Strand; New York: Spon and Chamberlain, 123, Liberty Street, 1903);—*A Russo-Chinese Empire*, an English version of "Un Empire Russo-Chinois," by Alexandre Ular (Archibald Constable and Co., 2, Whitehall Gardens, London, S.W.).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—The Budget estimates, published in March, 1903, showed a surplus of £948,700. The estimates for 1904-1905 are as follows: Revenue, £80,148,600; Expenditure, £79,229,000; Surplus, £918,700. The estimated surplus is less by £1,792,500 than that shown in the Revised Estimates for 1903-1904. Capital expenditure, borrowing, etc., in 1904-1905 is as follows: Capital Expenditure on State Railways, £6,310,000; Companies' Railways, £1,797,300; Major Irrigation Works, £833,300; Discharge of Debt, £1,422,000; Net Payments under Deposits, Advances, Remittances, etc., £1,407,500—Total, £11,770,500; against Revenue Surplus, £918,700; Borrowing by Railway Companies, £2,917,200; Sterling Loan, £2,500,000; Rupee Loan, £2,000,000; Addition to Unfunded Debt (Savings Bank Deposits, etc.), £688,100; Reduction of Balances in England and India, £2,746,500—Total, £11,770,500. Closing Balance, March 31, 1905: India, £11,060,616; England, £4,696,287—Total, £15,756,903.

The Provincial Settlements of Assam, Bengal, United Provinces, and Madras have been revised. The revision includes grants to Provincial Governments of £159,300 from general revenues. No period has been fixed for the duration of the new Settlements. The economic progress of the country during the past year is regarded as very satisfactory.

Lord Curzon left Bombay for England, on leave, on April 30. Lord Amphill, Governor of Madras, is acting as Viceroy during his absence.

The following have been appointed to be Judges of the High Court of Judicature at Calcutta: Mr. Frank Bodilly, Barrister-at-Law, in place of M. C. H. Hill, who has resigned; Mr. Sarada Charan Mitra in the place of Mr. Guru Dass Banerji, resigned; Mr. Bernard George Geidt, I.C.S., in the place of Mr. John Foster Stevens, I.C.S., resigned; and Mr. Frederick Eden Pargiter, I.C.S., in place of Sir Henry Thoby Prinsep, K.C.I.E., I.C.S., who has retired. Justice Sir S. Subramania Aiyer has been appointed Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University in place of Sir Arnold White, who has retired. Sir Lewis Tupper, who has gone on furlough, has been succeeded in the Vice-Chancellorship of the Panjab University by Mr. Justice Chatterji. Miss Cornelia Sorabji, B.C.L., I.L.B., has been appointed Legal Adviser to the Court of Wards, Government of Bengal.

According to the Blue-Book of the India Office, the total population of India is 294,361,056, of which 78·8 per cent. are under the direct control of British administration.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—On March 31 Colonel Younghusband moved from Tanu with Brigadier-General Macdonald and an escort, and were met four miles out by Tibetan leaders, who insisted on the retirement of the Mission. This was refused, and the troops advanced to the *sangars* occupied by the Tibetan troops, and endeavoured to remove them peacefully. Under incitement from their leaders, the Tibetans resisted, and wounded several of the British, who then fired and put their opponents to flight. The loss on our side was twelve wounded, including Mr. Candler, the *Daily Mail*

correspondent. The Tibetan loss was between 400 and 500, including the Lhasan General. Colonel Younghusband received a letter from the Chinese Amban expressing the opinion that, in view of Tibetan obstinacy, the Mission should go to Gyantse. It proceeded there, meeting with resistance at Khangma, where 200 Tibetans were killed and about 10 were wounded on our side. The fort at Gyantse was partially blown up after the removal of 190 tons of provisions, consisting chiefly of barley. On May 3 a force composed of two-thirds of the garrison at Gyantse proceeded to the Karo La Pass, which was held by 1,600 Tibetans, who were dislodged and put to flight. Amongst our casualties was Captain Bethune, who was killed. In the meantime the camp at Gyantse was attacked by 800 Tibetans from Dongtse. The enemy was defeated with a loss of 200 killed and 80 wounded. The Mission is now practically besieged by a large force at Gyantse. Strong reinforcements are on their way, and on arrival the force will march on Lhasa.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—Seven young Indian Princes of the Imperial Cadet Corps are about to receive commissions as officers in the regular army, and will be posted to regiments in various parts of India.

A conference called the All India Conference of Sikhs was held in April last at Amritsar on behalf of the Khalsa College, and proved most successful; 19 lacs of rupees were subscribed. The Raja of Nabha, who presided, delivered an eloquent speech. Sir Charles Rivaz presided at the distribution of prizes, and in the course of a speech said that the Panjab Government would supplement the subscriptions, when realized, with a grant of 50,000 rupees from the provincial revenues to the building fund.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has recently contributed 5,000 rupees to the funds of the Panjab branch of the Dufferin Fund, thus constituting him a Life Councillor. His Highness the Raja of Kapurthala is also a Life Councillor.

On May 11 Mian Bhure Singh was installed by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab as Raja of Chamba.

CEYLON.—The south-west monsoon broke over the Colony on May 21 with terrific rains and strong winds. Great floods and much distress has resulted.

The pearl fishery terminated on April 23. During the twenty-five days that it lasted the receipts amounted to £70,313, exceeding all previous records.

Tea-planters and merchants have strongly objected to the extra duty which has been placed on tea in the Budget of the Home Government.

Mr. Everard Ferdinand Im Thurn, C.B., C.M.G., Lieutenant-Governor and Colonial Secretary of the Colony, has been appointed to be Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, in succession to Sir Henry Moore Jackson. Mr. Thurn has been succeeded by Mr. Alexander Murray Ashmore, C.M.G., Government Secretary to British Guiana.

BALUCHISTAN.—The Sistan Boundary Commission, which was in camp at Kuhak on the Helmand River, twenty miles south-east of Nusratābād, has gone into summer quarters, owing to the inundation of the country caused by a rise of the Lower Helmand.

**AFGHANISTAN.**—The Amir whilst snipe-shooting had his left hand injured by the explosion of his gun. The Viceroy of India at his desire sent his own doctor, Major Bird, to Kabul to treat him. The treatment proved successful, at which His Highness was much pleased.

The guard-houses erected on the border of Turkestan, in order to mark the frontier, having been destroyed by the Russians, much quarrelling ensued between the Russian and Afghan troops. The Amir has sent Mir Iqvāl Beg, Mir Āftāb Beg, and two other officials to investigate the matter and prevent any further cause of disturbance.

Mirza Shāh Beg Khan, formerly Secretary to His Highness Abdur Rahmān, has been appointed Financial Commissioner.

Branch factories for the manufacture of arms and ammunition are to be opened at Herāt and Mazāri-i-Sharif.

**PERSIA.**—The Russian Minister of Finance has decided to acquire on account of his department preference shares of the Enzeli-Teheran Railway Company of the nominal amount of 5,200,000 roubles (£520,000), and shares in the Discount and Loan Bank of Persia to the nominal amount of 11,875,000 roubles (£1,187,500).

Lieutenant-Colonel Charles A. Kemball, C.I.E., has been appointed to be H.M. Consul-General for the Provinces of Fars, Khuzistan, and Laristan, the district of Lingah, and for the coasts and islands of the Persian Gulf being within the dominion of Persia, to reside at Bushire.

The new telegraph line branching off at Kashan through Central Persia has been finally joined viâ Bām with the Indian system, thus providing a land route from India to Europe, viâ Bām, Teheran, and Tiflis.

**TURKEY IN ASIA: ARABIA.**—There has been fighting between Ibn Saad, the Chief of the Wahābis, and Ibn Rashid of Nejd. The latter suffered several defeats, Ibn Saad having captured six towns. A Turkish army under Rauf Pasha is proceeding to Nejd to operate against the latter.

**ARMENIA.**—Great atrocities have been committed in the district of Sasun by the Kurds; 3,000 Armenians are said to have been killed altogether.

**RUSSIA IN ASIA.**—According to the latest statistic the population of the most populous centres of Turkestan is as follows: Tāshkand, 170,000; Samarqand, 60,000; in Zarafshān, Old Margilān, 40,000; New Margilān, 11,000; in Fargāna, Khojand, 33,000; in Sir Dariya, Kokand, 84,000; Namangān, 63,000; and Andijān, 49,000 inhabitants.

**CHINA.**—A scheme has been drawn up by Sir Robert Hart, of financial reform, so as to obtain a revenue of £53,000,000, by a land-tax, and to provide a standing army, an adequate fleet, and a reorganized Civil Service.

The total Customs revenue for 1903 was half a million taels larger than the previous year. The value of the exports in 1903 was Hk Taels 214,352,467.

**JAPAN AND MANCHURIA (THE WAR).**—In April last the Russians retired altogether from Korea. An army of 50,000 Japanese landed at the estuary of the Yalu River and occupied Wiju. The Japanese fleet bombarded Port Arthur for the eighth time on the night of April 12-13, and laid mines at the entrance. On April 13 the Russian fleet put to sea in pursuit of the

Japanese, but the latter being reinforced, they returned to the roadstead. Whilst doing so the flag-ship *Petropavlovsk* struck a mine and immediately went down. Admiral Makaroff and staff, with 40 officers and 750 seamen, perished. The Grand Duke Cyril, with 6 officers and 32 sailors, all wounded, were saved. Admiral Skrydloff was then appointed to the chief naval command. On May 15 the Japanese cruiser *Kasuga* rammed and sunk her sister ship the *Yoshino* off Port Arthur, and the Japanese battleship *Hatsuse* was lost, with great loss of life, by striking two mines. At the end of April the Japanese crossed the Yalu River and attacked the Russians, numbering 30,000 men, and captured their positions, which extended from An-tung to Liushukou. After a severe fight the Russians retreated towards Feng-hwang-cheun, losing 28 guns and 800 men, many officers and men being taken prisoners. The Japanese also suffered severely, losing 700 killed and wounded. A steady advance was made in the Liao-tung peninsula, the result of which was the cutting the communications of Port Arthur with the Russian army under General Kuropatkin in the north. Severe fighting, lasting five days, took place at Kinchau, Talienwan, and Nanshan, the Russians losing 68 guns and 10 machine-guns. On June 15 a force of Russians under General Stackelberg were attacked at Telissu in Liao-tung, and routed, losing 10,000 men killed, wounded, and prisoners. The Vladivostock squadron of three vessels put to sea and attacked some Japanese transports full of troops, and sunk two of them, with great loss of life. The squadron returned safely to Vladivostock.

SIAM.—The estimated revenue for the current year is 47,500,000 ticals, and the expenditure about 56,000,000 ticals. Cash reserves will supply the deficit.

EGYPT.—The number of British vessels which passed through the Suez Canal last year amounted to 2,278. In several parts of the country great swarms of locusts appeared during April. The authorities caused all land in which their eggs had been deposited to be ploughed up, thus causing the eggs to be destroyed by exposure to the sun.

SOMALILAND.—A force consisting of a detachment of the 1st Hampshire Regiment, supported by sailors, landed at Gullule River and stormed the fort of Illig, which was held by the Dervishes. The place was then handed over to a Mijertain tribe loyal to the Italian Government. The Mullā has but 900 fighting men left, and is reported as being disinclined to fight again. The expedition against him is now to be given up, and the 4,000 Indian and English troops will return home as soon as possible.

The administration of the Protectorate of BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA was transferred on April 1 from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office.

RHODESIA.—The native harvest throughout Southern Rhodesia promises to be an exceptionally good one.

The value of the imports for the year ending March 31 last amounted to £1,576,000. The revenue for 1903-1904 was £434,550, and the expenditure £738,632. The revenue for the current year is estimated at £539,000, and the expenditure at £683,000.

CAPE COLONY.—The estimates for the current financial year show a net



reduction in expenditure of a quarter of a million. The heads under which reductions have been made include Cape Police £122,372, and Defence £128,294.

All rebels still in confinement have been pardoned and released.

NATAL.—The finances of the colony are in a sound condition. The revenue for 1903-1904 amounted to £4,175,000, and the ordinary expenditure £4,145,000. The loan expenditure is reckoned at £2,125,000, including £1,052,000 for railways and £701,000 for harbour works.

TRANSVAAL.—An Anglo-Chinese Convention in regard to the importation of Chinese labour was signed in London by Lord Lansdowne and the Chinese Ambassador. This has been declared operative in Pretoria. Parties of coolies have already arrived in Natal from China.

The Legislative Council has elected Messrs. Bourke, Hull, Van Rensburg, and Hosken as members of the enlarged Intercolonial Council.

The revenue for the ten months of the current year was £3,784,862, and for the remaining two months has been estimated at £680,000, making a total of £4,433,050. The total expenditure has been estimated at £3,503,636.

Mr. Walter Edward Davidson, C.M.G., late Colonial Secretary of the Transvaal, has been appointed to be Governor of the colony of Seychelles, in succession to Mr. E. B. Sweet Escott, C.M.G., who has been appointed Governor of British Honduras.

WEST AFRICA AND NIGERIA.—The punitive expedition which was organized by Sir F. Lugard against the murderers of Captain O'Riordan and Mr. C. Amyatt-Burney in the Bosa province last year experienced severe fighting. The enemy having penetrated into a British square, killed and wounded many, but no Europeans were killed. In a more recent fight the British lost 4 killed and 48 wounded. Captain O'Riordan's head has been recovered.

The Amir of Kano, with an escort of cavalry and footmen, has paid a State visit to Sir F. Lugard, the High Commissioner, at Zungern, where he remained three days. A deputation from Sokoto has also visited the same place and paid their respects.

MOROCCO.—In May Mr. Ion Perdicaris, an American resident, and his nephew, Mr. Varley, an Englishman, were carried off from the suburbs of Tangier by armed brigands commanded by Raisuli. A large sum has been demanded for their ransom, besides other conditions. An American squadron is in Moorish waters arranging their release, which up to the day we went to press had not been effected.

AUSTRALASIA: THE COMMONWEALTH.—The Ministry having been defeated by a combination of Labour members, with the New South Wales Free Traders, most of whom are anti-Labour, the Government resigned. Mr. Watson, the leader of the Labour party, formed a Ministry as follows: Mr. Watson, Premier and Treasurer; Mr. Hughes, External Affairs; Mr. Higgins, Attorney-General; Mr. E. L. Batchelor, Home Affairs; Mr. Fisher, Trade and Customs; Mr. Dawson, Defence; Mr. Mahon, Postmaster-General; Mr. McGregor, Federal Executive Council (without portfolio).

**NEW SOUTH WALES.**—The revenue for the ten months ended April 30 last amounted to £9,416,457, as compared with £9,235,523 of the previous period.

The yield of last season's wheat crop has been estimated at 27,334,141 bushels, which represents 17 bushels per acre, and an excess of 11,000,000 bushels over the previous record. Seventeen million bushels are available for export. The maize yield was 6,000,000 bushels, oats 1,252,156 bushels, and hay 800,000 tons. The total value of the crops gathered was £8,500,000.

**VICTORIA.**—The yield of grain has been returned as 44,011,312 bushels.

**QUEENSLAND.**—Splendid rains have insured the success of the sugar crop and also of winter fodder. The number of sheep has increased by 1,600,000 in the last year.

**NEW ZEALAND.**—The annual congress of trades council delegates has resolved to urge the Government to establish ironworks and shipbuilding yards, and to nationalize the marine, coastal, and intercolonial services. The Government will also be urged to issue legal tender State notes in connection with the completion of main railways and permanent reproductive works, with a view to provide currency as a medium of exchange for the internal trade of the colony.

The revenue for 1903-1904 was £7,021,300, and the expenditure £6,434,200.

**CANADA.**—A destructive fire broke out on April 19 at Toronto, causing a loss estimated at £2,000,000.

The surplus for the past fiscal year amounted to \$14,345,166. The estimated surplus for the current year is \$16,500,000. The Dominion's aggregate foreign trade for the nine months ended March 31 amounted to the large total of \$345,307,651, or \$14,832,238 more than that for the same period of the previous year.

The Right Rev. Dr. William Bennett Bond, Archbishop of Montreal and Metropolitan of Canada, has been elected Primate of all Canada.

**NEWFOUNDLAND.**—Sir Cavendish Boyle, K.C.M.G., Governor of this colony, has been appointed to the Governorship of Mauritius.

An Anglo-French Agreement, signed in London on April 8, consists of conventions and declarations concerning Newfoundland, West Africa, Egypt and Morocco, Siam, Madagascar, and the New Hebrides.

The French Shore Agreement has been received with enthusiasm, and is considered as a great boon to the colony.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during the last quarter of the following:—Colonel Montagu Hall, late commanding 1st Batt. Royal Munster Fusiliers (Burmese war 1852-53, Mutiny campaign);—Lieut.-Col. Thomas Prince Lloyd (Afghan war 1878-80, Boer war 1881, Nile expedition, 1884-85);—Mr. Hugh Poyntz Malet, for a long period in the service of the Hon. East India Company;—Major-General John Alexander Dalzell, late of the 1st Batt. King's (Shropshire) Light Infantry (Panjab campaign 1849, Peshawar frontier 1851-52, Indian campaign 1857-59);—Major Augustus Keith Abbott, late of the Bengal Staff Corps, formerly of the

42nd Assam Light Infantry (Lushai Hill tribes 1871-72, Duffla Hill tribes 1874-75, Naga Hill tribes 1875, Afghan war 1879, Angami Naga Hill tribes 1879-80, Burmese expedition 1887-89, Hazara expedition 1888);—Canon James McGibbon Burn-Murdoch, formerly of the 3rd King's Own Light Dragoons, the 10th Hussars, and the 6th Dragoon Guards (India and Crimea);—Deputy-Surgeon-General Henry Cayley, C.M.G., Indian Medical Service (Mutiny, South African War);—Colonel Arthur Evelyn Fyler, formerly of the 50th Queen's Own Royal West Kent Regt. (Crimea, New Zealand campaign, Egyptian war 1882);—Major-General Sir Græme Alexander Sinclair Lockhart, C.B., Ensign 78th Highlanders 1843 (Persia, Mutiny);—Lieutenant-Colonel C. F. Babington Piele, late Indian Staff Corps (Zhob Valley expedition);—Sir Edwin Arnold;—Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Ferrand, M.D., F.R.C.S., of the Indian Medical Staff (Burmese expedition 1886-89, North-West Frontier 1897-98, Tirah expedition);—Mr. Cowasji Edulji Kanga, a well-known Oriental scholar;—Rear-Admiral Horatio Lawrence Arthur Lennox Maitland (Crimea, China 1860);—Major-General James George Roche Forlong, late Madras Staff Corps (Burma campaign 1852-53);—Colonel A. E. W. Goldsmid, M.V.O. (South African campaign);—Mr. Henry Somerset Mackenzie, of the Hon. East India Company's and Bengal Civil Service;—Mr. W. P. Mawson, Public Works Secretariat in Burma;—Admiral His Serene Highness the Prince of Leiningen, G.C.B., G.C.V.O. (Burmese war 1851-52, Danube 1854, Baltic 1855);—Lord Clinton, at one time Under-Secretary of State for India;—Herr Otto Boehtlingk, a Sanscrit scholar;—Major-General Charles Parker Catty (Kafir war 1850-53);—Lieutenant-Colonel Charlton Dawson, late of the 18th Royal Irish Regiment (New Zealand war 1863-66);—Brevet-Major Alister William Stewart Ewing, of the 98th (North Staffordshire) Regiment (Sierra Leone 1898-99, South African war);—Captain Haymes, of the Royal Army Medical Corps, died of wounds received in Bahr-al-Ghazal);—General Sir Fowler Burton, Colonel of the Queen's Own (Royal West Kent) Regiment (Crimea, Indian Mutiny);—Colonel George Atherley William Forrest, late of the Hampshire Regiment (Burmese expedition 1889-90);—The Rev. William Ayerst, chaplain Bengal Ecclesiastical Establishment (Khaibar Field Force 1879-80);—Major D. J. Welsh, 2nd Batt. Border Regiment, drowned in Burma;—Lieutenant A. W. Quinlan, of the same regiment, also drowned with the above;—Colonel R. de la C. Corbett, R.A.M.C., D.S.O., Bengal Command (Burmese war 1885-87);—Mr. John McArthur, one of the oldest European residents in Burma;—The Maharaja Durga Charan Law, C.I.E.;—Sir Philip Crampton Smyly, Surgeon in Ordinary to the Viceroy from 1869-92;—Major Robert Annesley, late of the 10th and 97th Regiments (Crimea and Abyssinia);—Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Briones Burnaby (Afghan war 1878-79, Sudan expedition 1885);—Inspector-General of Hospitals and Fleets Timotheus John Haran, R.N. (Lagos 1851, Black Sea);—Major Francis Powell, R.M.L.I. (Boer war);—Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. William Berrian Vail, P.C. of Canada;—Major-General Raoul de Bourbel, late R.E. (Bhutan expedition 1860, Afghan war 1878-79);—Major William Henry Gresson, late of the 65th Regiment (Mutiny, New

Zealand war 1863-64);—Captain Percy Thornton Horton, 1st Batt. Connaught Rangers (South African war, 1900);—Quartermaster Francis Butler, R.M.L.I., retired (China expedition 1857, Mutiny);—Deputy-Surgeon-General (Surgeon-Colonel) George Cochét Chesmayer, Indian Medical Service, retired (Hazara expedition 1868, Black Mountain expedition, Eastern Frontier 1871-72, Lushai expedition, Afghanistan 1878-80);—Major-General Sir Robert John Hughes, late commanding 88th and 63rd Regiments (Eastern campaign 1855, Afghan war 1878-80);—Admiral Edmund John Church, retired (Black Sea 1885, Mutiny);—Major Arthur Abney Sandys, late of the 4th (Royal Irish) Dragoon Guards (Egyptian war 1882);—The Right Rev. Edmund Hobhouse, D.D., formerly Bishop of Nelson, New Zealand;—Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Kirby, late of the 19th and 22nd Regiments (Burmese expedition 1887-88);—Rear-Admiral Sir William Cecil Henry Domville (Eastern Sudan 1885);—Rear-Admiral Henry John May, C.B. (Alexandria 1882, Suakin 1888);—Colonel William Molesworth Cale Acton, formerly of the 77th Regiment (Eastern campaign);—Lieutenant Leonard William James Gordon, 2nd Batt. Bedfordshire Regiment (South African war);—Lieutenant Cecil George Holland, 1st Batt. Royal Irish Regiment (South African war);—Commander Aston Edward McMurdo, R.N. (Egyptian war 1882);—Norodom, King of Cambodia;—Major Thomas Souter, Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders (Egyptian war 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85, Dongola expedition 1896, British East Africa Protectorate 1898-1901);—Mr. Michael Lloyd Ferrar, I.C.S., retired;—Rev. Malcolm M. Ross, for sixteen years Church of Scotland chaplain in the Bombay Presidency;—Lieutenant-General Charles Samuel Steward, late of the Madras Cavalry (Mutiny);—Colonel Richard Abraham Manners, late Royal Scots (Eastern campaign 1854-55, China 1860);—Colonel William Villeneuve Gregory, late of the Royal Artillery;—Mr. Cecil Joseph Salkeld Faulder, of the Bengal C. S., Commissioner of Patna;—General Sir Charles Shute, Colonel of the 6th Inniskilling Dragoons (Eastern campaign);—Lieutenant Charles Beauchamp Vyvyan, 4th (Militia) battalion Devonshire Regiment, and District Commissioner at Lagos;—Major Samuel Chetwode Townsend, R.A., attached to Army Ordnance Department;—Lieutenant-Colonel H. Stannard, retired, formerly Surgeon-Major A. M. S. (Zheb Valley expedition);—Major Hugh Pollexfen Deane, late of the 31st Regiment (Eastern campaign, China 1860);—Captain Hector Bethune, 32nd Panjab Pioneers, killed near the Karo La, Tibet (Chitral relief force 1895);—Sir Henry Morton Stanley, the famous explorer;—Second-Lieutenant Cecil Edward Gallagher, of the East Lancashire Regiment (South African war, Northern Nigeria);—Mr. Gilbert Peveril Peachey, formerly of the British Legation at Peking;—Rajaram (Aba Saheb Maharaj) Raja of Satara;—Captain Robert Bruce Swinton, 1st battalion Royal Berkshire Regiment (South African war);—Admiral the Hon. Walter Cecil Carpenter (Baltic and Black Seas 1854-55);—Major-General Alfred Anthony Des Vœux, late of the Bombay Staff Corps (Persian Expeditionary Force 1857, China 1860);—Brevet-Colonel Edward Cleary Hill, late Wiltshire Regiment, Inspector of Gymnasias in India (Afghan war 1879-80);—Captain John Francis Murray-Aynsley, R.N.

(Alexandria 1882 and Egyptian war);—Mr. John Freeman Norris, K.C., formerly a judge of the High Court, Calcutta;—Quartermaster and Hon. Major William Paton, R.H.A., senior Quartermaster of the Royal Regiment of Artillery (Afghan war 1879-80);—Mr. Edward Hope Percival, Bombay Civil Service from 1856 to 1878);—Major-General William Henry Paget, honorary Colonel of the 25th Cavalry Frontier Force, formerly of the 5th Panjab Cavalry (Shirani expedition 1853; Black Mountain expedition, 1868);—Rev. A. G. Fraser, D.D., services from 1845-1900, first as a missionary of the Free Church of Scotland, and afterwards of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and latterly of the Church of England;—Aga Akbar Shah, uncle of the Aga Sahib (Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah, the present head of the Shiah Ismailis);—Colonel Christopher Edward Blackett (Crimean campaign);—Colonel Percival Ashley Brown, late of the 102nd Madras Fusiliers (Burmese war, 1852-53, Persia 1857, and Mutiny);—Major Harcourt Leicester Dodgson, 2nd Queen's Own Rajput Light Infantry (Burmese expedition 1885-87);—Mr. Kaikhusro Nowroji Kabraji, a native publicist;—General Richard Harte Keatinge, V.C., C.S.I. (Central India Field Force 1857-58);—Mr. Jamsetji Nasserwanji Tata, a millionaire merchant and philanthropist of Bombay;—Captain Piers Thurstby (Relief of Lucknow and Siege of Delhi);—Mr. John Whitmore, I.C.S., Bengal;—Mr. Robert Richard Menneer, Bombay Public Works Department;—Major General Sir John Carstairs McNeill, V.C., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., K.C.M.G. (Mutiny campaign, New Zealand war 1861-65, Red River expedition 1870, Ashanti expedition 1873, Egyptian expedition 1882, Suakin 1885);—Admiral Charles Searle Cardale, retired (Baltic 1854, Malay Peninsula and Nicoba expedition 1867, Abyssinia 1868, Egyptian war 1882);—Lieutenant J. Aylmer Garstin, R.F., killed in Tibet;—Lieutenant-General Ivanoff, Governor General of Russian Turkestan;—Colonel Ben Hay Martindale, C.B., late R.F., formerly Commissioner of Railways and Superintendent of Electric Telegraphs of New South Wales;—Major-General Franklin Phillips Mignon, late Commissary-General of the Bombay Army (Persian Expeditionary Force 1857-58, Abyssinia 1867-68);—Captain Edward Pilkington, R.N. (Baltic and Black Seas 1854-55, China 1859);—Mr. Vlassoff, the Russian Minister at the Court of the Shah;—Mr. Louis Wilfrid Guise Rivett Carnac, Administrator-General for Bombay;—Mr. J. W. Minchin, editor and proprietor of the *South of India Observer*;—Deputy-Surgeon-General Sanderson, formerly of the Madras army;—Major-General F. E. Cox, late R.E. (Indian Mutiny campaign);—Lieutenant-Colonel C. Myer de Longueville (Indian Mutiny campaign, North West Frontier war 1863);—Sir Donald Horne Macfarlane, an East India merchant;—Captain William Thomas de Burgh, superintendent of the Elephanta Caves;—Colonel J. F. H. Alms (Sind expedition under Sir Charles Napier 1842);—Inspector-General Maxwell Rodgers, R.N. (China war 1858, Egypt 1882);—Shaikh Hassan Taufiq, lecturer in Arabic at Cambridge;—Lieutenant R. E. Alston, 1st Battalion Royal Fusiliers at Chumbi, Tibet;—Captain Herbert Darnton Egerton Greenwood, 1st Battalion West Riding Regiment (South African war).

June 22, 1904.

THE INTER-  
AND  
ASIATIC QUARTERLY REVIEW  
AND  
ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

(FOUNDED JANUARY, 1886.)

THIRD SERIES.

OCTOBER, 1904. VOL. XVIII. No. 4.

Contents.

ASIA.

- R. G. CORBET: "JAPAN AND BRITAIN."  
E. H. PARKER: "HOW THE TIBETANS GREW."  
GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.: "INDIAN WATER SUPPLY AND IRRIGATION POLICY."  
J. D. REES, C.I.E.: "TEA AND TAXATION"  
J. B. PENNINGTON, B.L. (Cantab): "A SUGGESTION FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SALT MONOPOLY, ETC."  
A. ROGERS (Late Bombay Civil Service): "SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA."

ORIENTALIA.

- PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET: "QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC LITERATURE AND ORIENTALISM."

GENERAL.

- PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET: "THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS."  
HALIL HALID, M.A., M.R.A.S.: "ORIENTAL STUDIES IN ENGLAND AND ON THE CONTINENT."  
"A DWELLER IN THE SOUTH": "THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND MALTA"  
REV. C. POYNTZ SANDERSON, M.A.: "GREATER AMERICA."

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS:

- INDIAN REVENUE AND LAND SYSTEMS. THE SALT MONOPOLY. THE SYRIAN HIGHER SCHOOL OF BEIRUT.—EDUCATION OF INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN CEYLON

REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

- The Nile Reservoir Dam at Assuan and After.—Turkish Life in Town and Country.—The Sheikhs of Morocco in the Sixteenth Century.—The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia.—The Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan.—The Quatrains of Hallam

SUMMARY OF EVENTS IN ASIA, AFRICA, AND THE COLONIES.

INDEX.

PUBLISHERS: ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, WOKING.



THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review,*  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

---

OCTOBER, 1904.

---

JAPAN AND BRITAIN.

BY R. G. CORBET.

EVENTS in the Far East have given Europe pause. She, who never wearied of repeating that the only conceivable basis of all enlightenment lay in the modes of thought endorsed by herself, now sees totally distinct ideals inspire greater progress and virtue than she has proved able to call into being. A non-Christian people, after equalling within a generation the advance in the arts of peace and war which she had taken a far longer time to accomplish, exposes to her astonished gaze a heroism she had pronounced impossible. Whilst the gravest doubt is thus cast upon her vaunted intellectual and moral pre-eminence, moreover, many another of her most cherished beliefs has been rudely shaken.

The Japanese have made short work, for instance, of the illusion that M. Bloch, by obtaining the patronage of Nicholas II. for Cobden's daydream of universal concord, had turned it into a reality. A war of the first magnitude, on the contrary, is the result of the Tsar's "passionate love of peace," and one as little reckoned upon by his advisers as by all else, it may be added. There is not the slightest doubt, indeed, that they thought to avoid hostilities, to which they had a perfectly sincere aversion.



Fighting, besides being costly, involved the risk of defeat, bound up, in the case of the State they governed, with further possibilities of revolution, civil war, and even dismemberment. Why, then, should the Imperial counsellors favour so troublesome a way of gaining their object when they could do this just as well, with a minimum of inconvenience, under cover of peace? The past had shown that the countries they came in contact with could be induced, with a little management, to submit to everything rather than appeal to arms, leaving Russia free to carry out the career of encroachment and absorption marked out for her by the will of Peter the Great. Especially had such been the case of recent years, during which she had encouraged these sluggish dispositions by undertaking a crusade in favour of peace at any price, of general disarmament, and of international arbitration, the last offering her the additional advantage that, in the event of an effectual veto being put upon any of her annexations, she could suggest bringing the matter before M. Mouravieff and his colleagues at the tribunal created under her own auspices, and trust to the uncertainty proverbially attendant on litigation to preserve to her at least part of the regions seized. It seemed that she need only, as heretofore, worm herself into possession, delaying each step forward until circumstances rendered those she wronged unable to offer active opposition, straining every nerve against the time when their hands might be untied to create the idea that her might was irresistible, and counteracting diplomatic protests—when they could not be left unnoticed—by preliminary denials of her advance, followed by more or less plausible pretexts, and by profuse assurances of the most innocent—nay, the most praiseworthy—aims. On these lines, without ever finding it needful to strike a blow, she had carried on her usurpations for years, until the West had got to consider her doing so as a matter of course. She was not without justification, accordingly, for believing that the usual tactics would serve her against

Japan as they had against all other obstacles. No; her statesmen did not look forward to the conflict. The sword was drawn because Russia at length met with a nation that deemed her love of peace a greater evil than war, and was not to be frightened by the bluster with whose aid she had always achieved her ends.

This totally unexpected attitude brought a series of further surprises in its train. The Muscovite, not troubled with excessive diffidence, had got his invincibleness generally accepted, for it is the characteristic of the day to take those who talk big—provided they are barefaced enough—at their own valuation. But the opinion formed of him has been repeatedly weakened since he entered the lists, and his efforts to uphold his reputation have made matters worse. When Admiral Togo dealt Russia his first blows, she had long been making warlike preparations, and she had received warning, in the recall of her representative, to be on her guard. The complaint that she was taken unawares, therefore, merely amounted to a confession of incredible negligence. The plea that her ships, on subsequent occasions, were hoist with their own petard, oddly adopted as a salve to her self-esteem, would, if it passed muster, have proved nothing save gross incapacity on her side. Prophecies that the foe was about to be annihilated by the Cossacks at one point after another lost all authority when these troops were driven forth from the places specified, and no greater value attached to the imaginary Japanese disasters and difficulties trotted out after each Russian failure. What of the millions, again, on the point of being sent to overrun Manchuria and Korea, or of the explanation that the rout on the Yalu and the defeat at Kinchau, accompanied as they both were by heavy losses, especially in ordnance, formed part of General Kuropatkin's plans? Such lame apologies, presupposing an utter lack of intelligence in those to whom they were addressed, served but to create a suspicion abroad that a mistaken estimate might have been formed of

Russia, and that she might turn out, after all, to be an idol with the feet of clay.

Not a few stood aghast at the bare idea. The Frenchman saw his laboriously accumulated savings in jeopardy ; Berlin could not be indifferent to the contingency of Poles, Finns, Nihilists, etc., successfully rising against a beaten despotism ; the risk of grave complications was held to attend the performance by any save the Tsar of the duties allotted to him in the Balkans ; numbers of other most far-reaching consequences were dreaded if Russia, the predominant factor, so long requiring to be considered in the solution of every international problem, were eliminated. No effort was accordingly spared to keep the unwelcome prospect out of sight, a course instigated, moreover, by Western tenacity in clinging to preconceived notions. Throughout the rest of Europe, in fact, this does not manifest itself as in England, where, conformably to the dogma that material prosperity is inseparable from the holding of the recognised views on Biblical subjects, it has broken out in perverse attempts to make Christianity responsible for Japanese efficiency, simply because there are some Christians among the soldiers and sailors whom universal service calls under the Mikado's banners. The mind of the Continental is not illogical enough to assimilate this bit of special pleading, no less ridiculous than would be the argument that, since a considerable proportion of the prisoners sent to Japan from the Yalu were Polish Jews, Russia takes her inspiration from the Talmud. In his case prejudice assumes the form of extreme readiness to credit all that confirms his opinion of Russian greatness. No matter how often his eyes may have been opened, he fastens eagerly upon the latest lie, hoping against hope that its confirmation may show the tide to be turning at last ; hence the hearty reception of which even the most threadbare myths are sure at the hands of foreign newspapers whenever it pleases St. Petersburg and its mouthpieces in Paris to dish them up. Here, to give an instance, are some

of the tales unhesitatingly reproduced on July 4, a date by which one might have thought that they had been so often refuted as to have lost every vestige of authority : The ideal condition of Port Arthur, whose inhabitants, according to the description given, seemed rather to benefit from the siege than otherwise ; the complete soundness of all the ships in the harbour, evidenced by the daily constitutional taken outside it by every one of them ; General Kuropatkin's perfect control of the situation, enabling Russia to fix with certainty the moment when she would dictate terms ; the wholesale destruction wrought among the Japanese by epidemics, etc. Thus, in spite of one disappointment after another, was the truth resisted, with a doggedness worthy of a better cause. Notwithstanding every means employed to keep it at bay, however, the conviction slowly gained ground that Russia's chances were less bright than they had been painted ; nay, so ignominiously had her fancied superiority played her false in all directions that a thorough collapse no longer seemed as wildly improbable as it once did. Foreign intervention, it began to be whispered, could alone save her ; while, strangely enough, those who most loudly foretold her triumph cast a doubt on their own predictions by asking the world, in the same breath, to believe that France and Germany were about to violate their neutrality on her behalf.

Here the question came in as to what we might do. Both nations were undoubtedly interested in the prevention of a break up, and to this intent, if they had had no opposition to fear, they might have shown little hesitation in joining hands to rob Japan of the fruit of her victories—they had done so before. Positive knowledge that we were determined to bar the way, on the other hand, must have acted as a powerful deterrent ; but of this our foreign policy deprived them, for it had during many years been so feeble as to afford them grounds for anticipating that they might carry out their purpose before we could prevail upon our-

selves to stop them. Apparently with the object of discovering how far they might go with impunity, they began by getting the papers to put out feelers, in the shape of emphatic assertions that Russia could not be allowed finally to be worsted—a conclusion which generally met with at least tacit acquiescence on our part, so much so as to embolden the foreign Press to go a step further, declaring that England would not make up her mind to act if France and Germany allowed Russia the use of their ports, and that the Japanese knew only too well how little they could rely upon our aid. The imputation of bad faith towards our allies was yet more unmistakable than at first, but even this was left uncontradicted. Perhaps Ministers felt that little value could attach to a denial, since the Government, like Scott's "poor, craven bridegroom," had said "never a word"—the usual Parliamentary professions of ignorance, which may some day be extended to the existence of the sun at noonday, of course, excepted—when Russia, at the very beginning of the war, turned French ports into naval bases for patrolling the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, and stopping our mailboats. That was the moment when firmness would have been invaluable; its absence lent weight to the persuasion so long prevalent abroad that we are too cowardly ever to stand up for our rights against a resolute adversary of any importance, and, coupled with our perfunctory protest against Russia's first violation of the Dardanelles, led to their passage, in the teeth of all treaty obligations, by the armed vessels of the anomalous "Volunteer Fleet," with the consequent seizure of the *Malacca*. Foreign journalism, which had meanwhile been preparing the world for the idea, now proclaimed that Germany, to say nothing of France, would back Russia's action beyond the Canal, so that any attempt of ours to resent it would bring us face to face with all three. We should be entirely isolated, moreover, since Japanese neutrality would be secured by means of wholesale concessions in the Far East, in return for which Russia, free to divert the army in

Manchuria to the conquest of India, would obtain an incomparably more valuable prize, besides re-establishing her prestige at our expense. And, to crown all, this news was attributed to London, where people, represented as cowering under the fear of a European coalition, were made to say that Great Britain was likely to succumb—an audacious move that, taking advantage of the confirmation to be expected from our constant silence, put the latest assertion of our poltroonery into our own mouths.

But at this juncture matters assumed a new complexion, thanks mainly to the indiscriminating zeal of the "Volunteer" cruisers, which held up German as well as English vessels. Events momentarily gave Great Britain, whose remonstrances were not marked by quite the usual half-heartedness, an unlooked-for *status* as the champion of the whole world's commercial rights, placed her in line with the Wilhelmstrasse, and enlisted French opinion on our side. Germany could not very well approve the detention of her own ships, indeed, while some of the acts perpetrated by Russia at the same time, such as the sinking of the *Knight Commander*, were so palpably contrary to civilized usage that France felt unable, in their case, to attempt her wonted defence of her ally. It is extremely seldom that a nation has all the rest behind it, and the statesmen of any other than England, far from letting so rare an opportunity slip through their fingers, would have hastened to make the most of it while it lasted. That is not our way, however. Although there was a little energy in the tone of our protests, our firmness began and ended there. We allowed ourselves to be put off with evasive answers, which showed plainly, as did his actions, that the Muscovite was merely seeking time to turn the tables upon us once more. With this object, in fact, he immediately set about separating our cause from that of Germany, who, before her mails were first ransacked, had made known her intention, provided her shipping were not interfered with, to uphold Russia in passing the Black Sea cruisers through

the Dardanelles as merchantmen, and using them as warships the moment they had done so. It was worth taking some trouble to get the Germans back into the same frame of mind. Hence, while Russia went on, exactly as before our protests, systematically employing the "Volunteer Fleet" to molest our mail and other boats—to such an extent as greatly to hamper our trade with the East—she found means to leave the German flag, and that alone, untouched. Again, while she really abated not one jot of her pretensions when dealing with us, she was so conciliatory in every way towards Berlin as to turn the irritation provoked by the seizure of the *Scandia* into equally profound satisfaction, and entirely to recover, in an incredibly short time, all the ground she had lost there.

This signal victory was superfluous, as far as we were concerned, for, according to our habit, we gave Russia a free hand; we told her that the "Volunteer" vessels were pirates, and then looked on while they did as they liked with everything sailing under our colours. How St. Petersburg must have laughed in its sleeve when, in the face of this hard fact, Mr. Balfour said we need be under no apprehension that Government would not protect the interests of shipping! The utterances of our Ministers, indeed, are often supremely ridiculous from the point of view of the Russian diplomatist. What can he have thought, for instance, of Mr. Balfour's subsequent declaration that we could not allow the independent States on the Indian frontiers to be gradually eaten up by Russia and turned into secondary bases of attack against the Peninsula? The same sort of uncompromising language, on a former memorable occasion, but proved the prelude to the stampede of our men-o'-war from Port Arthur; why should not Russia attach a like value to it now, especially as she sees it accompanied by tame submission to actual insult and injury?

The British navy, supposed to command the seas and be always at hand when wanted, should, in the first place,

have prevented the Treaty of London from being trodden under foot by Russia, especially as she had made no secret of her intention to do so. Failing this, it should at least have been on the spot to protect our shipping in the Red Sea. But no; it was forced to stand idly by while the Government, after asseverating that the *Petersburg* and her consorts had no belligerent rights whatsoever, concurred in her dragging the *Malacca* to Algiers, and subjecting the P. and O. boat to search there.

We very nearly had to do so towards the end of July, when the Russian Grand Dukes, who had taken the place in the Tsar's councils previously held by more prudent diplomatists, and with whom the decision practically lay, were only prevailed upon with the greatest difficulty to refrain from forcing on a war with Great Britain. The party which favoured the provocations responsible for the fight with Japan, indeed, is now eager to try conclusions with us; and the Russians have openly boasted of late, time and again, that they contemplate a descent upon India, even going so far as to say that their Minister for War has matured all his plans for one. It is madness on our part, when facts like these stare us in the face, to go on hugging the delusion that Russia will never venture to attack us. We had far better imitate Japan, who, foreseeing that Russian ambition must eventually lead to a conflict, for years studied its probable course, and, with a minute attention that left even German thoroughness a long way behind, carefully provided for every detail. We might do worse than examine, item by item, Japan's methods of dealing with her enemy, both by sea and land; and should a comparison with our own show the latter to be wanting in any particular, we ought at once to set about remedying the defect, lest, if we delay, we be no longer in time. In like manner, since a very favourable impression of the German naval system was created amongst experts during the recent visit of the Kaiser's warships, we should immediately attend to the matter if we are behind them in



any respect. The raids of the Vladivostock squadron, again, prove that naval preponderance is not, as we have been taught to believe, sufficient of itself to secure the safety of the mercantile flag, and further measures must be devised for its protection. It is imperative, in a word, that we should review our position from every standpoint, in order to put an end betimes to unreadiness which might prove fatal to us in the event of a great war. We have surely not forgotten how much our improvident ways cost us in South Africa, where, after all, we were not pitted against any of the great Powers; but, if we require a reminder, Russia has been showing us, on a larger scale, how disastrous it is to be taken at a disadvantage by the outbreak of hostilities. Such examples ought to be enough to convince us that it is high time we began seriously setting our house in order, and omitting no precaution to avert discomfiture.

Among the means hitherto neglected by us is that which has repeatedly given Japan success when she must have failed without it—"scientific fanaticism," as the Americans term it. History would have recorded the defeat of the Japanese at Kinchau, for instance—perhaps even followed by their headlong flight, if they had borne out the theory universally agreed upon in Europe—that assailants, when more than a certain proportion of them falls, must perforce lose heart and give way—a theory upon which M. Bloch's school based the corollary that, under modern conditions, the carrying of strong entrenchments is out of the question. But the Mikado's troops scattered both theory and corollary to the wind by not quailing even under a fire that laid them low to the extent of 100 per cent., "and by storming positions which, according to the received canons, were impregnable. Now, this "scientific fanaticism" is within our reach, for we have plenty of excellent raw material in our dominions, and all that is necessary is to convert it into the finished article and give it an impulse in the right direction. Even in the rough, "Fuzzy-wuzzy broke a British

square," as his predecessors had overcome the Roman legions. What might he not do, then, if trained as are the Japanese? In India, again, to say nothing of other parts of the Empire, we have millions of his co-religionists, not a whit less full than he of innate fighting spirit, which merely requires education.

While this, on the one hand, must be technical, converting the unscientific fanatic into a methodical, cautious, and intelligent being, ready to think and act sensibly for himself at a pinch, it is even more indispensable, on the other, that it should be intellectual. It must be brought home to the Mohammedan, for example, that, since the recent *Fatwas* from Mecca declare British territory to be *Dar-ul-Islam*, he is fighting for his faith when repelling our enemies; and that it is *Jihad*, most particularly, to oppose Russia, the hereditary foe of the Crescent. He should be reminded of the lands wrested by her from Moslem States; of her further designs upon them, such as the occupation of Constantinople prevented by us after her last war with Turkey; of the efforts she is still constantly making to reduce her Mohammedan neighbours to a condition of virtual vassalage to her; of the religious persecutions to which she subjects the Moslems whose countries she has seized, etc. Let such things but be made clear to him, as they easily might if we only set to work the right way, and he would perform as great deeds against the Muscovite as have the Japanese, especially did he learn, like them, that eagerness to shed his blood for the cause should be tempered by the desire to do so to its greatest advantage.

But it is not Moslems alone who should be taught what Russia really is, how her inhabitants are oppressed and denied religious and other liberty, and what reliance can be placed upon her most categorical assertions and her most solemn promises: this knowledge would have an incalculably beneficial effect upon all our subjects in the East, for it would be a deathblow to the calumnies which she

is always sowing broadcast. Even as it is, the crusade, so to speak, she has been getting her instruments in Mongolia to preach against us, has little prospect of success amongst Indian Buddhists, who have practical experience of the unparalleled freedom we allow the followers of every creed; but if this were contrasted with Russian methods it would stand out still more conspicuously.

St. Petersburg, again, has been trying to make the world believe that the prestige of Europe stands and falls with its own, whereas, as a matter of fact, Russia is far more Asiatic than Western in her polity and in a variety of other respects. She is but superficially European—*grattez le Russe, vous trouverez le Tartare*. It is obviously of the very greatest importance to us that this should be emphasized on the Continent as well as in the East; and that in the bazaars, above all, false ideas on the subject, fraught as they may be with the gravest consequences, should not be allowed to prevail. The excuse that we can do nothing, so frequently invoked to justify our inactivity, is refuted by the example of the Japanese. They have abundantly shown how Russia's insidious attempts to secure her moral ascendancy at others' expense are to be dealt with. Varying the means as circumstances required, they have checkmated her in China, Korea, and Manchuria, gaining trade victories, *inter alia*, which have contributed in no small degree to their subsequent military success, and with which our commercial defeats in Persia afford a humiliating contrast. Our motley Eastern populations offer us plentiful opportunities of doing the same. We can send to every region where Russia is engaged in undermining our influence men of its own race and religion, capable of obtaining its sympathy and confidence as none else can, and if the same care is taken in their choice and preparation for their allotted mission, of emulating the emissaries of Japan. All this, too, while they carry on their own private business, as the Japanese merchants did in Manchuria before the war.

There is much else that we have to learn from our ally, but it would take too long to enter into such matters here. The great point is, that we should awake to the fact that we have a great deal of leeway to make up, and should do so without delay. While the latter part of this article is being written, both the Port Arthur and Vladivostock fleets have been dispersed, the Kaiser has decided to disarm the Russian warships at Sing-tao, and the doom of Port Arthur and of General Kuropatkin's army seems unavoidable. Russia, should her collapse in the Far East not bring about that of the whole autocracy, will live upon hopes of a *revanche*. This she will be unable to obtain from Japan, who may be reckoned upon to take as great precautions to prevent it as did Germany in the case of Alsace-Lorraine ; so, as aggression in the Levant might clash with too many interests, she will naturally seek compensation in India, upon which she has so often reminded us of late that her thoughts are centred. And if that day comes may it give her no justification for her repeatedly expressed contempt of us, but find us as ready at all points to meet her as was Japan in February.

## HOW THE TIBETANS GREW.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THE ancient Tibetans are by no means unknown to Chinese history, but only as a congeries of predatory border tribes, just as the Germans were vaguely and fragmentarily known to the Romans of Julius Cæsar's time. For instance, in 112 B.C. a horde of 100,000 Tibetans (then called K'iang, "Sheep-men," or, possibly, "Yak-men" succeeded in effecting a junction with the Turks (then called *Hiung-nu*, or *Huns*), and attacked a city on the Yellow River, marked on modern maps as Ho Chou, near where it enters China proper. From that time it has ever been the policy—usually successful—of the Chinese to drive in a wedge of occupied and fortified territory between the two races, along which wedge always ran, and still runs, "the highroad of Asia." In 60 B.C. there were further troubles, and the city of Lan-chou Fu, as it is now called, was founded as a habitat for the surrendered Tibetans. During the next three or four centuries the whole of the Chinese west frontier from Shen Si to Yün Nan was open to incessant attacks, the Tibetan warriors often threatening even the metropolitan precincts, or, as we now call it, the Prefecture of Si-ngan Fu. But though many a rough chief gave himself the title of Emperor, Supreme Khan, or what not, for a brief period, still the danger to China was never a very pressing one.

With the fifth century of our era a new phase commenced. China was now divided into the North and South Dynasties, very much as the Roman Empire at the same period was split up into the Eastern and Western halves. North China was for several centuries ruled by a kind of Mongol horde, called T'o-pa, which soon lost much of its distinctive character, and adopted Chinese ways. South China's administrative centre now began to be established at

the modern Nanking. During the restless period that produced this permanent division, the Tibetans, now already strong patrons of Buddhism—probably derived at first, not from India or Nepaul direct, but circuitously from the Indo-Scythian Empire and Tarim Valley—put in a decided claim for empire, and several very considerable Tibetan dynasties between 350 and 450 ruled with vigour as Kings, or even as rival Emperors of China (Ts'in), either at Si-ngan Fu itself, or at various more westerly points "on the highroad to Asia." As the celebrated pilgrim Fah Hien set out for India in 399, under the patronage of one of these Tibetan rulers, it is not unlikely that the western name "Tsina," or China, was derived from this source. The generic word K'iang now gives way to tribe appellations, which suggest that the Tibetans (like the Teutons) were by no means a pure or homogeneous people.

But still the Tibetan race can hardly said to have yet made any true history. Just as a section of the German savages at last, under the influence of Christianity, took the concrete form of the Franks, so at about the same time and by the same stages a powerful body of the Yak-men and Sheep-men, under the workings of Buddhism, at last blossomed out into the T'u-pot. The Chinese suggestion, accepted too readily by European writers, that this word may be connected with an emigrant branch of the To-pa family, will scarcely bear inquiry. The Tibetans' opportunity had arisen during the sixth century, the whole of which had been taken up in China by a struggle between the already decaying and divided Tartar dynasties of the North, and the filibustering Chinese dynasties of the South. During this period of grace the K'iang tribes were united under a national hero of unpronounceable name, about whose origin no precise *data* are obtainable. When, at the close of the sixth century, China woke up once more to find itself reunited under a strong native family, she was also rather surprised to learn, so soon as she had settled down, of the

existence of a great power beyond her frontiers in the far south-west. The Chinese word T'u-po or T'u-pot first appears in 623, when it is recorded that a horde so described attacked a city to the north-west of Si-ngan Fu. There are proofs that the second syllable represents the Tibetan word *bod*, by which the hierarchical Tibetans have always designated themselves. Moreover, the Mongol and Arab words for *Tubot* or *Teböt* support the dissyllable as a whole, though the origin of *Tu* is doubtful. In 634 the King, or *Btsanpo*, as the Chinese correctly call him, for the first time sent tribute; the moving cause, no doubt, being that in 630 the warlike Emperor of the new T'ang Dynasty had succeeded in totally breaking up the dominions of the Turks. The word "Turk" had then been in use by Chinese historians for eighty years; but the Turks were a mere branch of the ancient Hiung-nu, just as the T'u-pot were a powerful clan of the ancient Yak-men. Even at this date it is recorded that a complimentary yak for the ambassadorial banquet was always shot publicly, at request, by any guest of distinction arriving in the country. The habits of the people, as described in the Chinese histories, were then very much what they are now, except that the civil power had not yet allowed itself to be quite so seriously encroached upon by the clergy; although even then it is plainly stated that they were consulted in all important political matters. The capital, or "paradise," was then, as now, called Lhasa, and there had already been seven kings previous to the one reigning in 634: but nothing is recorded about them.

The envoys of the ambitious and warlike young monarch ascertained on arrival at the Chinese capital that the Turks and one or two other Tartar rulers, in spite of their defeats, had each been conciliated with the gift of a more or less genuine Chinese princess in marriage. He, therefore, also promptly put in a claim for one, and, when it was haughtily refused, commenced a vigorous series of frontier raids, which lasted for several years. Both sides seem to

have grown tired of this unprofitable war, for at last, in 641, he duly obtained his Princess, who seems, moreover, to have had a very wholesome influence in refining and educating the rude Tibetans. Perhaps the city founded or rebuilt in her honour only received the name Lhasa on her arrival. As the Tibetans are distinctly stated by the Chinese historians to have had no system of writing anterior to the introduction of Chinese teachers at this date, we may safely assume that such Buddhist works as had already been introduced into Tibet had come *viâ* Khoten or China, and were understood only by the limited clergy class, whose participation in State affairs was clearly owing—here as in parts of China and among the Tartars—to their knowledge of Sanskrit, Pali, and the various derivative forms of writing which had been used up to the fourth century in Khoten, Indo-Scythia, etc.; in fact, the later annals (Manchu) state distinctly that the earliest Buddhist teachings came by High Asia and by sea, and that this King of the seventh century first obtained the Tibetan alphabet from India.

In 648 the Chinese, who had now for the first time found their way to Nepaul and Magadha, became involved in an Indian war. Previous to this the ruler of Nepaul, whom the Chinese call Naren-deva, had fled to, and accepted the suzerainty of, Tibet; his sister was a fellow-queen with the Chinese Princess. Tibet, aided by Nepaul, was able to render valuable military assistance to the Chinese envoy to India, who had been surprised and driven back by an intriguer for the Magadha throne. In return for these services, the King of Tibet was instructed in the art of silk rearing, spirit distilling, the manufacture of writing materials, etc., and received besides very substantial presents. This distinguished ruler, the Chinese Lungtsan, usually known to Europeans as Srongtsan-Gamba, died in 650, at the age of eighty-two, and was succeeded by his young grandson, who was practically a puppet in the hands of able agents. Srongtsan's son never reigned.



It would be profitless in a short sketch like this to recount the numerous Tibetan squabbles with China about the kindred Kokonor tribes. Suffice it to say that the ancient but continuous policy of keeping the Tibetans apart from Hiung-nu, or Huns—*i.e.*, the now weakened Turks—at last, in 670, had the unexpected result of placing the old Turkish vassal-*dom* of Little Buchar*ia* (including Kashgar, Khoten, and Kucha), for the first time, in Tibetan hands. Frequent wars now went on to contest this appropriation, and immense Chinese armies received successive thrashings from the Tibetan generals; until at last, in 692, an unusually able imperial commander succeeded in recovering Little Buchar*ia* for China. The pretensions of Tibet at this period may be gauged from the fact that, even after their defeat, they had the audacity to demand, as the price of peace, not only Buchar*ia*, but also the shattered Western Turk Empire, representing the modern Bokhara, Kokand, and Pamir regions.

Meanwhile, the Chinese Princess had died in 680, one year after the second King, and his son, the third King, was killed in 705 during an expedition against Nepaul and Magadha, which was then claimed as part of the Tibetan empire. The Chinese annals mention that, a few years after this, India applied to China for assistance against the Tibetans and the Arabs. As things on the Chinese frontier had now taken a more friendly turn, in 710 the Chinese Emperor gave his own beloved daughter to the boy King of Tibet, the fourth King, who was only twelve years of age. This is the Princess *Kin-ch'êng*, or "Gold-City," (then the name of Lan-chou Fu), pronounced in Japanese *Kon-jō*. Sarat Chandra Das, who has evidently been consulting Japanese sources, applies the name *Kon-jo* to the first Princess *Wên-ch'êng*, whose name in Japanese would be *Mon-jō*. Considerable territorial concessions by China were added by way of dowry. But the Tibetan appetite seemed only to grow larger with the feeding, and for many years there were incessant raiding wars along the

frontier line. At last, in 731, after the Princess had given birth to a son, a satisfactory treaty was concluded, and it must be presumed that the Tibetans had now made great progress in civilization; for one of their demands, made through the Chinese Princess, was for copies of certain classics and works of reference. But even this treaty did not secure peace, and up to the year 741, when the Chinese Princess died, and again up to 755, when the King himself died, raidings and bickerings went on as usual. Chinese accounts are not perfectly clear whether the unpronounceable King who died in 755 was the son or the husband of the Chinese Princess. In 756 the Chinese Emperor had to fly from his capital owing to the revolt of one of his Turkish favourites, and naturally the Tibetans took the opportunity to appropriate more Chinese territory, more especially the "Caindu" region of Marco Polo, bordering on Yün Nan. These acquisitions were confirmed by treaty the same year. In 763 further disputes with the Tibetans led to the occupation by these for a few weeks of the imperial capital itself, from which the Emperor had to fly for the second time. Peace was concluded three years later, and in 783-784, after more fighting and negotiating, the ratifications of a still more solemn agreement were exchanged. On this occasion the subordinate status of "son-in-law" to China was accepted by Tibet. According to Mr. W. R. Rockhill, outside the Jo-khang shrine of Lhasa there is a stone pillar still standing, which records the alliance of 783 between the Emperor and his nephew (*sic*).

It were wearisome to record the incessant boundary disputes and skirmishings which followed the conclusion of this solemn but inoperative covenant; but it is worth while noticing that in 790 the Tibetans captured the celebrated Turkish religious centre known to Chinese history as the "Northern Court," and which corresponds, not to the modern Urumtsi, as has generally been supposed, but to Gutchen, or, rather, to a place near it, called Khagan-stûpa, and which only last year (1903) was given a new

administrative name. Meanwhile, the Shans or Siamese, who had not yet moved south to the Ménam Valley, and had for centuries past developed a very remarkable empire in Yün Nan, Kwang Si, and Tonquin, began to come into collision with the Tibetans in competition for possession of the Upper Yang-tsze Valley. These battles were sometimes on a very large scale, for in 794 as many 100,000 Tibetan prisoners were taken in one fight. Seven years later the Siamese captured a number of Samarcand and Abbasside Arab troops who were fighting under a Tibetan General. This remarkable fact tends to prove the enormous extent of Tibetan influence at this period, and accounts for the old Arabic word *Tubbet*. The stone records of these Siamese triumphs—some of them—still stand *in situ* near Ta-li Fu. The chief Chinese fighting with Tibet was now transferred to the Sz Ch'wan frontiers, but at the same time, all along the line desperate engagements were fought almost every year. At last, in 821, both sides began to grow thoroughly weary of this incessant waste of life and treasure, and steps were taken to conclude a permanent convention, with every religious formality added. The officer who concluded this treaty took the opportunity on his way to examine into the vexed question of the true sources of the Yellow River, which, ever since the second century before Christ, had been, more or less, confused with the Tarim, Yarkand, and Khoten Rivers. This important bilingual document, several defective copies of which are to be found in Chinese historical and geographical works, still stands unharmed, carved upon its original stone, outside the Great Temple of Lhasa, and the last British subject to see it was Sarat Chandra Das.

Between this important event and the year 872, when the last Tibetan transaction with China is mentioned in T'ang history, there were some important incidents; but the great native Chinese Dynasty of T'ang—perhaps the most powerful that ever ruled the Empire—was now, after a brilliant rule of 250 years, tottering to its fall. Enter-

prising Generals, more or less mingled with Tartar or Tibetan blood, were founding kingdoms for themselves on the "highroad of Asia"; and it was at this period more particularly that developed the powerful mixed State of Hia or Tangut, which for over three centuries succeeded in maintaining its independence of both North and South China in the Kokonor, Lob Nor, and Upper Yellow River regions. (For a full account of Tangut State, see the January, April, and July numbers of this journal for 1901.)

During the three centuries which elapsed between the collapse of the T'ang Dynasty and the conquest of Tangut by Genghis Khan, Tibet seems to have been to a great extent shut off from all direct intercourse with China. North China was for two centuries governed by a Mongolic race called Kitan, now represented by the Solons, who are a cross between Manchu and Mongol; then for one century by the Nüchêns or Juchêns, the Chorchà (Manchus) of Marco Polo. Central China was nominally administered for half a century by five ephemeral houses (nearly all more or less Turkish); whilst the South and West were in the hands of petty independent pretenders. In other words, China had fallen to pieces. From 960 to 1260 the great Chinese Dynasty of Sung—the Manzi of Marco Polo—took the place of all these, welding Central and South China into one highly civilized state—the Tartars continued, of course, to rule in the North. The mixed Tibeto-Mongol Empire of Tangut during all this time acted as an effective barrier between the Far West and the whole of China, except that a few Persian, Arab, and other missions managed to work their way through, by the extreme north roads, to Peking; and, of course, the same Persians, Arabs, Hindoos, etc., could still reach the great marts of the Manzi Dynasty by sea. Consequently for 300 years we hear very little of Tibet proper—*i.e.*, of the ecclesiastical state whose political centre was Lhasa. The Chinese know nothing of the Buddhist persecution, civil war, division into east and west, the settlement in 1083 of the Indian Buddhist Atisha in Ngari, and

other matters recounted by Western authors. The few Tibetan missions that worked their way by the land routes to Central China were chaperoned by the Ouigour Turks, with whom, as we have seen, they had already had intimate dealings at the "Northern Court." In the same way, during the 200 years of Kitan rule, the few Tibetan missions which found their way to North China came by the favour and through the territory of Tangut; it is interesting to note that in 1048 the word "Tebut" first occurs in the Chinese annals. The Kitan or Cathayan history records in that year that "the T'ie-pu-tê offered us their assistance against the State of Hia (Tangut), but we declined." During the hundred years of Nüchên domination there does not seem to be a single bare mention of Tibet; and although the Manzi Dynasty of South China had continuous relations, friendly or hostile, with the more easterly Tibetan tribes, there is no mention of the Lhasa Government, nor of a central ecclesiastical power. There is some reason to suppose that religious Tibet, or part of it, if divided, must at this period have recognised the suzerainty of Tangut, for in the year 1039 the Hia monarchy notified the Sung Empire that the T'u-po were among its subjects, and in 1040 the ruler of Hia declared himself an "Emperor." At all events, so far as Chinese records are concerned, there is a blank in Tibetan political history between the years 900 and 1200. During the eleventh century there were, it is true, extensive doings with a Tibetan dynasty of rival *btsanpos* north of Kokonor, founded by one Kuh-sz-lo, a scion of genuine royal stock, but born in Ouigour land. His name is stated to mean "Buddha's-son," and therefore possibly stands for the Tibetan *mcod-sras*. He was continually at war with Tangut, and died in 1065 at the age of sixty-nine. Though the state administered by him and his descendants was strongly Buddhist, it cannot be considered more than a northern fringe of the true Lhasa hierarchy, the contemporary history of which is quite lost to us.

Genghis Khan, after several attacks upon it during the

course of his conquests, completed the subjugation of the Tangut Empire shortly before his death on its borders in 1227. The conqueror had, it is related, conceived notions of conquering Tibet also, but it is recorded that in the sequel he shrank back from its inaccessibility. Nothing in the way of annexation seems to have been done previous to 1250-1251, when the Generals of Mangu Khan were instructed to march upon Tibet. At that time the "Caindu" (Kien-tu) Valley, lying between the Yang-tsze and Yalung Rivers, was part of the Tibetan dominions, and most of the Mongol fighting seems to have been either there or along the western borders of Sz Ch'wan province, the object being to arrange a regular post relay, a periodical fair, and a regular exchange of tea and horses. Little or nothing is said of the inner life of Tibet, and it seems highly probable that the monkish rulers were left almost entirely to their own devices, subject to their recognition of nominal Mongol sovereignty, and subject to their rendering military, guide, and courier assistance when required to the various Mongol Princes or Governors whose headquarters lay upon their inhospitable frontiers. On the other hand, the Mongol rulers were frequently asked for relief when any Tibetan district felt a scarcity in food. Marco Polo's account of Tibet, meagre though it is, is extremely accurate, and most of the details he gives are textually supported by various passages in the Sung (Manzi) and Yüan (Mongol) dynastic histories. Even before Kublai came to the throne in 1260, the Khan had fallen under the spell of a learned Tibetan named Pagspa, of the Saska tribe, whose ancestors had for ten generations dominated in the Kokonor region. Doubtless this word "Saska" is the "Sakya" lama rule as described by Western writers. Up to that moment the Mongols had made use of Ouigour letters in order to express Mongol sounds, but now (1269) Pagspa, acting under Kublai's instructions, invented a new Tibeto-Mongol alphabet, and through his exceptional tact and abilities acquired great influence at the Mongol Court, where he

held the titles of Prince of the Precious Law and National Instructor. This is evidently the Karma Bagshi of Sarat Chandra Das—*i.e.*, the founder of the monastery of Tsorpu in Tibet. He insisted, the Chinese tell us, upon retiring to Tibet in 1274, and he was succeeded at Peking as head of the Buddhist faith in China by his brother; both died in 1279, and to them there succeeded a regular “dynasty” of resident chief lamas. If Pagspa’s uncle, Sakya-Pandita had visited Kuyuk Khan in 1246-1248, the Chinese do not know it. On the other hand, they record that Mangu Khan held a durbar west of Kokonor in 1254, after Kublai’s conquest of Ta-li Fu. There seems to have been a kind of Tibetan agency or Colonial Office at Peking, and all Tibetan affairs, both in Tibet and China—mostly, of course, in connection with monastic privileges and exemptions—were administered either at Peking, or by two *wan-hu* or decachiliarchs; later by the Mongol frontier *darugachi* (governors) and their Tibetan coadjutors, subject to the general superintendence of these two Peking bodies. The last Sung (Manzi) Emperor (Marco Polo’s *Facfur* or “Son of Heaven”), after his capture by General Bayen in 1276, was carried to Peking; in 1288 we find him studying Buddhism in Tibet, but it is not stated where. In 1280 Kublai sent a scientific expedition under one Tushih to explore the sources of the Yellow River, and clear up several points left unsettled by the mission of 821 already mentioned. Thus it is evident the Mongols had a good hold on Tibet. Marco Polo describes at length the thirty years warring with, and the revolt of, Prince Kaidu; about five years before his death, in 1301, this scion of Mongol royalty also, by way of diversion, made an unsuccessful attack on Tibet. The “Popes” of Peking in Mongol times enjoyed almost unlimited power. To use the very words of Chinese history: “When the Mongol power broke upon China from the North, it was already under the Buddhist spell, and when West Asia had been conquered, Kublai, in view of the extent and inaccessibility of Tibet and the fierce

combativeness of its people, conceived the idea of softening its manners by yielding freely to local sentiment ; so he divided the land of Tibet into prefectures and districts, leaving all appointments to the Colonial Office and National Instructor, the assistant officials attached to each appointee always being priests ; thus ecclesiastical and civil authority even in military matters being convenient." In the year 1326 were undertaken the Tibetan inscriptions of the Nan-k'ou Pass near Peking, as depicted in Yule's Marco Polo. The exaggerated privileges enjoyed by Tibetan priests in China gradually led to great corruption, tyranny, and abuse, and the White Lily Society, which has continued to exist up to now under various phases, takes its origin from the corrupt days of the decrepit and tottering Mongol Dynasty. The statement that the early Moŋgols were already Buddhists is remarkable, for neither the Cathayans nor the Nüchêns cared much for religion, if at all.

When the native Chinese Dynasty of Ming (whose founder was himself a Buddhist priest) drove out the Mongols in 1368, one of his first cares was to carry on the excellent policy of Kublai, and above all to avoid the costly wars which had caused so much anguish to the T'ang Dynasty between 630 and 830. The description given by Ming history of the celibate and vegetarian monks herding in monasteries, contrasted with the married meat-eating lamas living outside of the monasteries, shows how very little their manners have changed throughout a course of a thousand years. It is added that there were no arms, no punishments, no cities, and no diseases, so that we need not wonder at the well-grown "giants," now resisting us at Gyantse. In obedience to the usual imperial summons of a new dynasty, the (Śākya) *btsanpo* and Imperial Instructor Nankaba sent envoys to Nanking in 1372, and the next year he came in person. The sixty officials whose names were submitted by him to the Emperor were all confirmed in their appointments, and his own official title, as given by the Mongols, was modified by the addition of further



honorifics. The second effective Emperor, on his accession in 1402, similarly sent to welcome to Peking another divine of the Red Church named Halima, upon whom he conferred honours second only to those of the late Instructor. This prudent policy secured almost unbroken peace during successive reigns, and opportunity was taken, when funerals and other solemn imperial functions took place at Peking, to encourage the periodical missions by giving their members ceremonial functions to perform, and by keeping them in good humour; on the other hand, two or three Chinese eunuchs—eunuchs were never so much trusted as during the Ming Dynasty—were sent at intervals on missions to Tibet. The historian is careful, however, to add that policy and not belief in “unorthodox nonsense,” was the imperial motive in treating the Tibetan “Popes” so deferentially. There were several of them, but it is hardly worth while here to distinguish. Priceless flags and banners studded with pearls were sent to adorn the chief Tibetan temples. In 1505 an unusually foolish Chinese Emperor came to the throne, and hearing that a certain “Living Buddha” in Tibet possessed marvellous supernatural powers, sent a strong mission with a huge number of valuable presents, this time by way of the Yangtsze River route—a new departure; but, like the Dalai lama of to-day, the Living Buddha feared the *Danaos et dona ferentes*, and declined to show himself; the eunuch barely escaped with his life. The Mongol Prince Anda, or Altan, also got a later Living Buddha on the brain, which soon landed him in a war with the Wala (“Allies”), as the Kalmucks were then termed. Be that as it may, in 1579 Anda invited this saint, whom the Chinese call *So-nan Kien-ts'o*, to visit him, and the peaceful influence of the lama in question not only secured harmony between the contending Kalmucks and the Tumed Mongols, but also led to a reopening of intimate relations with China. “Thus it was that China also got to know of the Living Buddhas,” who rapidly took precedence over all other Tibetan rivals.

It is evident that Bsodnams-rgyamts'o, second successor of Dge-hdim Grub-pa or Gedundub (founder in 1447 of the Tashilumbo Monastery), is here meant, and, according to Western authors, Anda conferred upon him the title of "Vadjra Dalai Lama"; but I am ignorant from what sources the encyclopædias draw their information.

In 1793 the Manchu resident in Tibet obtained a short glimpse at the Tibetan "classic records," and was thus able to throw some extra light upon the last few statements. According to him, the reformer Tsongkhapa originally reintroduced the "Yellow" Church, on account of his mantle having taken that dye best on a certain test occasion. He died in 1467, after first suggesting the re-embodiment system to his two disciples, the Panshen lama of Tashilumbo and the Dalai lama of Lhasa. The "Living Buddhas," or re-embodiments above-mentioned, were, in fact, Tsong-Khaba's Dalais, and the only confusion arises through the Chinese not always making it clear whether the term "successor from . . ." includes or excludes the person named; and whether, strictly speaking, the word *Dalai* does not really date from Bsodnams rather than (two reigns back) from Grub-pa.

The history of Manchu relations with Tibet is as follows: In 1639, when the Manchus were raiding Chih Li province, the Manchu Emperor, as he already styled himself, thought it good policy to send a mission to the "Khan of Tuböt." In 1642 the Dalai's return envoy was handsomely received at Mukden; he handed in a yellow complimentary *p'rug* from his master, and was dispensed from kneeling in person. In writing to the Dalai, the Manchu chief made use, not of the Ming-granted title, but of the title *Vadjra*, and otherwise showed that the friendly intervention of the Eleuths (Kalmucks) was being utilized by him. In 1652, after the Manchus had successfully asserted their position as Emperors of China, the same Dalai proceeded in person to Peking. This Dalai was, according to the Emperor himself, the "fifth re-embodiment," counting Gedundub as

the first, and his name was Nagdoang Blobzang Rgyamts'o. It is noticeable that the Manchus say "Tangut or Tuböt" people, but seem to lean specially towards "Tangut." The internal rivalries in Tibet are very intricate for some decades after this, and are quite beyond the limits of this short paper ; the only real Chinese interests were the continuation of the "horses for tea" trade, and the maintenance of a balance between the Kalmuck and Kalka Mongol powers, both very fond of dabbling in Tibetan affairs. In 1682 the Dalai died, but an intriguing *diba* named Sang Rgyas succeeded in concealing the fact from the Emperor, and in monopolizing for himself power as "King of Tuböt." Meanwhile, Russia's name begins to appear in connection with the defeated Kalmucks, and in 1697 the Emperor discovered the death fraud. In 1707 the usurping "King" was murdered, and China was confronted with a dangerous political rival in the shape of the Dzungar monarchy, so graphically described by Bell of Antermomy. Their chief, Arabtan, was threatening Tibet, and the Emperor accordingly conceived the following brilliant idea : "If the Dzungars can march into Tibet, I suppose we can?" According to Sarat Chandra Das, the Dzungars in 1716 advanced as far as Nagarise. In the end the Emperor favoured a Dalai of his own choice in preference to the one (or perhaps two) elected by other conflicting interests, and in 1719 he sent one of his own sons with a small army to escort his own lama from Kokonor to Lhasa by way of the Murui Usu (Yang-tsze sources). Opportunity was taken in 1720 to survey, not only the sources of what we call the Yang-tsze, but also to go over those of the Yellow River once more. As is well known, owing to the Murui Usu and Yün Nan having been unknown to the ancient Chinese, the Min River of North-west Sz Ch'wan is still considered by most Chinese to be the true Yang-tsze source. A stone was set up in Lhasa in 1721 to commemorate the first, and quite bloodless, conquest of Tibet ; I suppose this stone is still to be

found somewhere in Lhasa. Batang was at first, but Ta-tsien-lu a few years later, recognised as the Dalai's frontier with China, and two Manchu residents were appointed—one for East and one for West Tibet, with 1,000 men each as guards. In order to give every encouragement to Mongol Buddhism, the Emperor allowed the Urga Saint to visit Peking, and made arrangements for yet another re-embodiment at Dolonor, near Kublai's former northern capital of "Xanadu."

Now follows another long period of intrigue, Dzungar War, and the interregnum of an able but friendly Tibetan named Polonai. During this restless generation, Bhutan and Nepaul both make themselves known to the Manchus under the names Hbrughba and Péurbu (or Dugba and Balpo, as Surat Chandra Das writes the words). The Emperor K'ien-lung, who began to reign in 1736, proved too clever for the Dzungars, whose power in the end he utterly crushed. Not content with this, he resolved to be master also of Little Bucharía, since which time all Tartar influence has ceased to affect the politics of Tibet. Nothing appears in the Chinese records touching Bogle's mission to Teshilumbo in 1774. (The recent intriguing of Russia through the channel of Urga Saint is in effect nothing less than an attempt to reopen the era of Kalmuck, Kalka, and Dzungar meddling at the cost of China, and to the serious menace of Nepaul, Sikkim, Bhutan, and Cashmir.) On the other hand, the Manchu Emperor, who even took the trouble to learn Tibetan himself, was now able to make use of the Dolonor Saint in order to work, through his correspondence, upon the feelings of the Dalai, when necessary. In 1780 things were so quiet in Tibet that the Chinese troops were reduced. In that year the sixth Panshen lama came to Peking, and died there of small-pox. The Emperor built for him a palace (still there) at Jêho, on the model of that at Tashilumbo. It is interesting to note that in 1783, in sending a seal to the Dalai Blobzang Bstanpai, etc., the Emperor states distinctly: "You are the eighth re-embodi-

ment of Gedundub, who was Tsongkhapa's successor in the Law [of Buddhism]." Thus, in the fifth and eighth cases the enumeration *includes* Gedundub as the first Dalai. In the same year—1783—Warren Hastings sent Turner to Tibet, but the Chinese say nothing about this event. In 1790 and 1791 we find the Emperor laying down rules of administration, the object being to enhance the power of the Residents, and divide that of the Tibetan officials as much as possible. The criminal code was reduced to writing; reforms in taxes and salaries were introduced; *corvées* and conscriptions were regulated; and the "golden urn" system was invented for the production of suitable bodies to represent departed souls. As the witty Emperor said: "Put a few good-looking, well-born boys' names in the urn each time, but no souls must be found in the bodies of young Mongol Princes." The interference with Tibetan foreign relations led to a Chinese war with Nepal,\* from which China may be said to have come out well, if not actually victor. England's name as a possible ally for either side, several times appears in this connection. The old Emperor abdicated in 1796, and one of the early acts of his successor was to cut off Tibetan influence from Kokonor with a view to the ancient policy of keeping "Turk and Tibetan" quite apart. In 1801 the Chinese became aware of English doings with Sikkim. Manning spent seven months in Lhasa in 1811, and the Chinese are generally supposed to have hastened his departure; if so, they record nothing of it. The Abbé Huc was ejected from Lhasa in 1846, but I do not see any mention of this in the Manchu Annals either.

Since then the urn system has worked well, and Tibet has made very little history. The Chinese garrisons were originally relieved every three years, and the soldiers were allowed to "take up with" native women; but in 1844 it was found that 30 per cent. of the stores provided for the

\* See the article "Nepaul and China" in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* of January, 1899.

troops were habitually consumed by an ever-increasing brood of half-breeds. The last Dalai's death recorded in Manchu Annals was in 1856. He was apparently the eleventh. Within the past year (1903) a supplementary portion of the Manchu Annals has appeared, taking in the period 1862 to 1874. I have not yet looked through it all, but nothing is recorded therein of our disputes with Sikkim in 1861. In 1862 there was a serious civil war between two monasteries and the lay ruler at Lhasa. Ever since 1880, when we arranged for trade by way of the Jelep-la road, Tibet seems to have been unusually obstructive. Perhaps it is a pity that the Macaulay negotiations of 1886 were allowed to fall through. By the Convention of 1890 our control over Sikkim was made exclusive, but since then Tibet has been more repellent than ever. According to a Chinese statement, made in 1897, the reigning Dalai is the thirteenth re-embodiment.

Touching the Russian treaties with Tibet, which have really been one of the chief causes of the present trouble, the following is a Chinese account which appeared in April, 1903:

"As to the mining treaty concluded at Lhasa some little time ago, between the Chinese Resident there and H. E. the Russian Minister K'o, it was signed on the 1st day of last moon (February 27), in consequence of which the Russian Court has specially despatched five officers to Kan Suh by way of Ili. After a few days' stay in Lan-chou Fu, they will proceed to Lhasa to make an examination of sites, and of the general lay of the mountains. A copy of the said treaty has been obtained from the [Chinese] Foreign Office, and is given below:

"1. The present treaty is purely a matter between the two States, China and Russia, and the original clauses may not be modified in consequence of the interference of any other country.

"2. The expenses of prospecting for and examining mines shall be entirely defrayed by the Russo-Chinese Bank.

"3. Upon all the coal yielded by the various mines ; also upon the gold, silver, copper, spelter, lead, iron, zinc, etc., a royalty of 10 per cent. shall be paid to China, calculated upon the market price prevailing at the time.

"4. Mine proprietors and pit proprietors, no matter whether Chinese or Russian, must not extract in any one year to a greater value than 200,000 taels [? each]:

"5. All mining veins which have quite recently come to light must have their areas and positions clearly measured out and defined, so as to prevent disputes.

"6. All mining implements and machinery shall, if imported from Russia, be entirely exempt from import duty.

"7. The people of both China and Russia are strictly prohibited from unauthorized undertakings ; offenders to be severely punished.

"8. Mines opened by Russians should be reported to the Russian Minister accredited to China, for communication to the Chinese Foreign Office. Supposing that neither side sees any objection, then the Foreign Office will instruct the Assistant-Resident in Tibet to take action accordingly."

With regard to the above treaty on Tibet mining between China and Russia, we have already published a general statement on the subject in a previous issue. But, the language of the present document being very precise, and, moreover, our copy having been made and sent by the Foreign Office, the statements may be taken as authoritative, for which reason we now publish them.

## INDIAN WATER-SUPPLY AND IRRIGATION POLICY.

BY GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.

IN describing the state of society and the condition of labour in the Middle Ages, that eminently judicious and impartial historian—Hallam—makes the following observation, which is quite as applicable now as it has always been to all countries alike :

“ There are *but two possible modes* in which the produce of the earth can be increased—one by rendering fresh lands serviceable, the other by improving the fertility of that which is already cultivated.”

Adam Smith and all economists up to date state the same principles in the matter of the produce of the earth, that in order to enhance the quantity and the value of this produce to the utmost, the land must be provided with the best means for fertilizing it, and for maintaining the stock in good working condition, and be afforded the best, the easiest, and the *cheapest* means of transport to the *most extensive markets*, at the right time and season.

Practical men, like English land surveyors, embody the same principles in their rules for estimating the value of land ; even in a climate like England they insist on the land having a good and abundant water-supply for the use of man and beast ; and on its having the best and cheapest means of transport possible. Only the other day the *Times*, in discussing the progress of industry at home, declared, “ After all, the *transport question* is at the root of all our difficulties,” especially in reference to agriculture, which is the chief industry of India.

From all the above it is quite apparent that it is not so much irrigation *alone* which India requires for promoting its chief industry, on which the Government revenue is almost entirely dependent, but it is the total absence of all



means of *cheap* transport which prevents India becoming one of the most thriving countries in the world. It possesses any amount of labour, a fertile soil, and an abundant natural water-supply ; and it is only because the above principles have been so entirely neglected in all ages that India has always remained, and will continue to remain, in a condition of hopeless poverty and destitution till its whole system of land cultivation has been revised on those simple principles.

If you examine all the systems of collecting land revenue in India, all the 1,001 volumes, reports, etc., which have been published on the subject, the recent report of the Irrigation Commission, and the paper contributed by Mr. Hughes to the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April, 1904, on Indian Irrigation Policy in connection with this report of the Irrigation Commission, you will not find, in any one of these documents, a single word showing that any attention whatever has ever been paid to the only two possible methods for enhancing the produce of the earth both in quantity and value.

In the discussion on Mr. Hughes's paper there is not a word to show that those who took part in it had any idea whatever what the land requires to be provided with in order that its cultivation shall be as remunerative as possible. There is abundance of declarations about assessments, settlements, land-tax, rent, etc., all jumbled together, as if these all meant one and the same thing, making it very clear that the distinction between rent and a land-tax is not even understood amongst the speakers. When Sir Lepel Griffin talks about "the work that England had done in the way of irrigation in Egypt and India, as being unsurpassed either *in ancient or modern times*," he merely betrays his total ignorance of what has been done in the way of irrigation in the United States of America in recent years. In the most arid regions of the States, where the rainfall is of the most unfavourable and fluctuating character, and varies from 10 to 20 inches in the year, in the decade of 1890-1900 the extent of land irrigated in this area, under the most

unfavourable circumstances imaginable, has been increased from 4,115,000 to 7,300,000 acres—an increase of nearly 77 per cent. ; and it is estimated that there is water enough for over 60,000,000 acres *fully conserved by reservoirs* and other means.

The total area of these States is about 973,000,000 acres, rather less than that of all India, which, with its most abundant water-supply, is declared to be unable to irrigate more than some 20,000,000 acres of land ! So much for the admirable work said to have been done by England in India by the greatest and best authorities on Indian affairs. Arizona is said to be “in the driest and hottest part of the United States,” the average population is about *one person* to the square mile, and in ten years the irrigated area has been increased from 70,000 to 190,000 acres, an increase of 170 per cent. (See “Irrigation in the United States,” by Frederic Haynes Newell, a work we highly commend to all those who pretend to be authorities on Indian irrigation affairs, in the hope that they will learn to be less dogmatic on a subject of which they know next to nothing.) Of course, in the United States of America the people possess one great advantage over the peoples of India—there is no Brahmin caste allowed to exist there at the public expense, and to spend their lives in ruminating on their very peculiar “religious prejudices,” contemplating their own navels as a sanctified action well pleasing to their own gods, and permitting them to grind the faces of the poor under pretence of making revenue for the Government.

In all countries where self-respecting Englishmen have established themselves such a caste would not be tolerated for a moment ; It is only in India we find Englishmen subjecting themselves to such peculiar institutions.

We propose to deal with Mr. Hughes’s paper somewhat fully in detail, as he indulges in assertions without bringing forward any proof in support of his allegations.

For instance, we are told “these minor works number over 40,000 in the portion of the country under Ryot-wari

Settlement alone, and comprise *weirs across all the smaller rivers and streams*," etc. Now, only a short time ago the collector of the Nellore district *officially* reported there were no less than seven such rivers in his district conveying enormous volumes of water waste into the sea, for which nothing whatever had ever been done in the way of irrigation works to utilize as much as possible this most abundant water-supply.

Only last year, when the Madras railway was most seriously damaged by the heavy floods of the Palar River in the North Arcot district, all the rivers were conveying enormous volumes of water waste into the sea, and this kind of thing was going on all along the whole Coromandel coast, as the breaches in the coast railways very clearly prove.

As to the so-called *weirs* on such streams, in ninety cases out of a hundred they are only temporary dams built by the natives every season, and are easily swept away by any floods; they have never been designed on any scientific engineering principles, and are of as little use as possible. In fact, the basins of *all such rivers and streams in South India* require to be thoroughly examined by levelling and surveying to see what can be done for them.

It is quite true that a tank "restoration scheme" has been working in the Madras Presidency for some twenty-five years, and has expended some 75 lacs of rupees; but in all the reports of their work, there is absolutely nothing to show that a single acre of land has been better provided with water for irrigation, or that there has been any increase of revenue by their operations; and they have collected *no data* to show how the water-supply can be more perfectly utilized by good hydraulic works. Nearly fifty years ago in the Bellary district, one of the most arid regions of Madras, by paying some attention to their minor works, and improving them so as to store more water, by an outlay of Rs. 3,60,000 during three years for this purpose, some 85,000 acres of land were brought into irrigation, and the

ryots not only agreed to pay a water-rate of Rs. 5 per acre, but they cordially co-operated in doing the work, and this outlay was all recovered in less than five years, and not a single stamp paper was used in making the agreements.

It is pretty plain from the above that the 40,000 minor works in Madras have never had any proper attention paid to them. In the United States, with such abundant means for all irrigation purposes, and any amount of cheap labour always available, and good markets easy of access, even by common cross-roads, Mr. Newell would have had a very different tale to tell. As to "vested interests" being interfered with, it has to be shown on what grounds these are to be considered sacred, and no legislation allowed to interfere with them. In India, these so-called vested interests have all been acquired by violence, fraud, or chicanery of one sort or another by the Brahmin caste at the expense of all their fellow-subjects, and under British government such pretensions should be swept away at once if we are to maintain our character for fair play and justice to all alike under the late Queen-Empress's proclamation.

Very great stress is laid by the Irrigation Commission on the limitation of irrigation, but we have only to look at the work done in the United States in the most arid tracts of their country, with the sparsest population possible, to see that all their arguments are quite fanciful and void of all reason ; in fact, this Commission has done absolutely nothing to promote irrigation and prevent famines ; they have just confined themselves to do as little as possible for the benefit of the community at large, and as they have totally ignored the subject of communications in connection with the improvement of the land for cultivation, the outlay recommended by them for mere irrigation purposes will be as waste as it has heretofore been in India. We have already shown that in Madras the local drainages have never yet been properly utilized ; in the river basins, from the Pennar southwards, nothing whatever has been done to impound

the natural rainfall in any proper scale, and *no data* have yet been produced to show how this is practicable. In the North Arcot district, and in the basin of the Pennar itself, in the Cuddapah district, there are a dozen good sites for reservoirs if examined by any competent engineer, as Sir A. Binnie showed the way in the Nagpore Water-works.

Mr. Hughes apparently quotes the Commissioners as declaring "the Godavari practically cannot be utilized except in the Delta," but he takes very good care *not* to give the reasons alleged by these Commissioners, which is because the Zemindari tenure of land prevails in those Provinces, so that it is quite impossible to bring capital and skill to bear profitably on the lands held by such a barbarous tenure. This was pointed out some thirty-five years ago by the present writer, and all the ruin, misery, desolation prevailing now in that part of the country is due to these tenures having been made by the civil authorities, as the late Sir R. Temple candidly admitted when informed of this very serious error. To say, then, that the Godavari basin cannot be practically utilized for irrigation purposes is making a most misleading statement ; for these Irrigation Commissioners show that the rainfall is very abundant, and this is also fully confirmed by the records maintained at the Anikut, for over half a century. Good sites for reservoirs exist all over this basin for storing water in, and the river can be made navigable for some 400 miles inland, and connected with the only safe and easily accessible port on the whole Coromandel coast ; and we are actually told, without rhyme or reason, that such a tract cannot be practically utilized in anywise ! When our good cousins across the Atlantic hear of this no doubt they will be quite ready to say, "I guess John Bull is a more tarnation fool than I ever imagined he was."

It would be tedious to follow Mr. Hughes in all his opinions and the quotations he makes from the report of the Irrigation Commission. The spirit in which these

objections are made can be seen from the way he deals with so important a subject as the basin of the Godavari River, by simply ignoring or withholding the real causes why the people there are compelled to suffer such hideous horrors of famine. Just because the land settlements have been so made their lot cannot be ameliorated by the outlay of any capital or skill. The same causes prevail in Orissa and in the Permanent Settlements of Bengal. The failure of all irrigation works in such tracts all over India is due to one and the same cause—the Settlements have been made to favour one caste *at the expense* of the whole community. In the United States of America President Roosevelt and his coadjutors have adopted just the opposite policy, recognising the fact that it is far wiser to develop such works, so that the greatest number shall benefit equally as much as possible ; and the success of their enlightened views is clearly evidenced by the results.

As these papers purport to give a true account of the progress of irrigation in Madras since Sir A. Cotton left the country in 1859-1860, it will be well to give an account of this subject, and only “a plain unvarnished tale.” Mr. Hughes admits the value and importance of the Tungabadra project, and says it is on a *much grander scale, etc.* How will it be believed that he and *all his predecessors in office for more than forty years condemned this project in toto*, and advised the Government to abandon it altogether, as all official records can prove? When the Irrigation Commission came to Bangalore, in 1901, the present writer was invited to appear before them and give evidence. He then explained to the Commission the manner in which this project should be done, and how it could be easily connected with the Kurnool works, pointing out at the same time the errors on the Kurnool and Cuddapah Canal, and insisting on *through navigation* being established from near Bellary to the coast through the Nellore district, producing several instances to show how all-important this matter was in securing the best possible returns from

all land improvements. His suggestions and proposals were eagerly accepted by the Commissioners, and at once recommended to the Government of India, who sanctioned the Tungabadra project being investigated at once, *but this writer's name and evidence has been entirely suppressed in all the official reports.*

There was not six months' work for any competent engineer in making this investigation in the Bellary district; three years have already elapsed, and now we are told it will still take years to complete the investigation"! We are also told that in the five districts which this project is calculated to benefit, during the twenty-six years 1876 to 1901, the cost of relief and loss of revenue from failure of the crops exceeded six crores of rupees. To these losses must be added all the previous losses for nearly twenty years—when the project was first initiated by the present writer—all the cost of the railways which intersect these districts in all directions, and which have totally failed in preventing famines. Here it will be as well to note that an "expert" appointed lately by the Government to report on Indian railways, declares their charges for freights, etc., are over 80 per cent. too high for this country in its present industrial condition, so it is very easy to estimate "the incalculable benefits" these works have conferred on India in general. To all other losses must also be added the loss of life in these districts from famines, and the almost entire destruction of live stock, the value of crops and the labour thereon.

It is impossible to give any figures to represent even approximately the losses these poor people have been made to suffer in the most wanton manner from the cruel pangs of thirst and hunger; but what are we to think of those people who publicly maintain that all that could be done has always been done in India for affording relief in famine times to all its peoples?

The very fact of preventing this writer during more than forty years in carrying out Sir A. Cotton's instructions,

as personally entrusted to him, and then accepting his proposals, and suppressing his name altogether in connection with this grand project, shows very clearly the culpable neglect and dereliction of all public duty which has prevailed in Madras since Sir A. Cotton left the country.

It will be as well to place on public record that if the navigation is not carried out as recommended by this writer, in full concurrence with Sir A. Cotton's views on this project, its failure is a perfect certainty, quite as certain as the Kurnool and Cuddapah Canal has been. This witness gave full information to the Irrigation Commissioners regarding all matters connected with this project, and urged on them the absolute necessity of storing as much water as possible in the Kistna, Tungabadra, and Pennar basins, for the use of the Nellore district, in which there is an immense area of land fit for all irrigation purposes, and which can be provided with the easiest, freest, and *cheapest* means of transport to all the markets of the world. It is now a matter of little moment to him personally if his name and professional advice are suppressed in a most discreditable manner, but if the main point on which he most insisted is neglected and omitted, he does not wish to have his name and character associated with the failure of the project, which will most certainly occur as it has already done in so many parts of India, and did so more particularly in the Godavari district, until the present writer revised that project, and attended most carefully to the navigation which Sir A. Cotton always acknowledged in the most handsome terms.

In connection with the Godavari works, it is well to mention another instance showing how negligently irrigation has been attended to in Madras for nearly half a century. When this writer prepared these revised estimates in 1870, those for the Eastern and Western Deltas were sent up to the Government of India, and



*at once* sanctioned for execution, with the cordial approbation and the thanks of the Supreme Government. In 1871 the estimate prepared *by him* for the Central Delta was sent to Madras *and there detained for revision for over twelve years*. When at last it was submitted to the Government of India, the only revision made in it was to *omit his name* from it altogether, and substitute that of another man! By this most disgraceful proceeding the Government lost at least fifty lacs of rupees in revenue, and the ryots upwards of 250 lacs of rupees in the value of their crops, and all concerned in such a disreputable transaction were promoted to the highest positions in the Irrigation Department, Madras. In the history of the Godavari works, prepared for the Government, this writer's connections with them is most carefully suppressed, and no mention whatever is made of the Inspector-General's visit to the works in 1872-1873, and the very favourable terms in which he reported to the Supreme Government the works were being carried out under his supervision.

When the most important hydraulic works in Madras have been dealt with in such a manner, and every vulgar artifice of misrepresentation practised which a larrikin might well be ashamed of, it is only throwing dust in the eyes of the public at home to tell them that every minor river and jungle stream has been most carefully attended to, and there is "no scope for any further improvements," when the real truth is that little or nothing has been done in the Presidency to speak of, except the great works initiated by Sir A. Cotton, which, however, are still very incomplete owing to the same negligence.

To show how all-important it is to attend to the means of transport in all agricultural improvements, we have a very instructive instance in the report of the revised settlements on the Godavari district. In this official document it is shown that in the Ramachundrapoorum taluq of this district, the revenue realized is at the rate of over Rs. 9 per

acre, whilst the average for the other taluqs of this Delta is about Rs. 6 per acre, and the great difference is actually attributed to the soil in a Delta formation ! a purely native idea adapted to their old crude notions of collecting land revenue. However, it so happens that this taluq has been provided with five good navigable canals, and several cross roads ; that by connecting the Coringa River by a cross-cut canal from Munjair to Covoer, all laden boats have a down-stream traffic to Cocanadah and all the markets of the world ; from its situation the average lead in this taluq is about twenty miles only, so all products can be readily disposed of in the best markets of the district, and the people are therefore able to pay a much higher revenue to the Government.

In the Central and Western Deltas the soil, of course, is much the same as in Ramachundrapoorum, but the lead from those taluqs to Cocanada is about sixty miles, *up-stream* chiefly ; and all laden boats have to cross the river above the Anikut, which is a very dangerous navigation during the flood season, from July to December, and always tedious and troublesome on account of the many shoals in the river-bed. In any civilized country these circumstances would fully account for the land not being able to pay a better revenue ; but in this poor country, under its miserable systems of land administration, it is simply accounted for as "soilwar," another barbarous term added to the miserable jargon used in collecting land revenue in India. Had the base canal, proposed by this writer years ago, been executed so as to connect Nursapur with the head of the Coringa River, through the Central Delta and the Polarum Island, almost all these difficulties in navigation would have been overcome, the lead shortened perhaps by about one-third, and chiefly down-stream for all laden boats ; then the people could easily have paid a rate approximating to the Eastern Delta when the cost of transport had been so considerably reduced ; but as this would have been the carrying out one of the *only two*

possible methods for enhancing the value of land, it was, of course, rejected by all Indian officials of "reputation."

It does appear to be most strange that a subject which is now occupying the most serious attention in all civilized countries—the reducing the cost of transport as much as possible, so as to secure the easiest, freest, and *cheapest* facilities of access to all the markets of the world, in order to obtain the greatest profits for all industries, at the right time—should have been *entirely ignored* by this Irrigation Commission and all those who pretend to be authorities on Indian agriculture. Even the *Times* lately declared that, after all, the transport question was at the root of all our difficulties in securing our commercial position in the world against the keen competition now arising against us in all parts of the earth. A few instances may suffice to show how important it is, in the interests of the community generally, to reduce this cost. Since the opening of the Manchester Ship Canal, the railways between Liverpool and Manchester have been compelled to reduce their freight charges by over 50 per cent. By adapting the Aire and Calder navigation for steam traffic, the cost for conveying a ton of coals is less than  $\frac{1}{100}$  penny a ton a mile.

In the Godavari Delta the Uttali Canal was cut originally to irrigate 30,000 acres of land, and for seventeen years it never irrigated more than 6,000 or 7,000 acres; about 1870-1871 it was ordered *by the present writer* to be fitted with locks and made navigable, and in the first season the ryots took up an additional 10,000 acres of land, and as soon as the navigation was completed all the rest of the land was taken up for irrigation, and now this same canal irrigates some 43,000 acres for first and second crop, and the same kind of thing has occurred in every instance *without fail*. Why this matter, then, should receive no attention whatever in India is perfectly inexplicable; perhaps it is because, as Lord Dundreary would say, it is one of those things no fellow can understand.

Mr. Hughes would lead us to believe that nothing more

can be done for the 40,000 minor works in Madras, and in this statement he appears to have the cordial approval and support of Messrs. Griffin and Rees ; how far *any reliance* can be placed on such statements can be judged of from the following extract from a letter which appears in the *Madras Mail* of May 3, 1904, signed by R. Ragoonatha Row, a retired native revenue official of considerable experience in all irrigation works :

“The less interference of the engineers with them (minor irrigation works) the better it is for all concerned. Of late these have been *much neglected*, and the revenue officers do not take one-hundredth part of the interest which their predecessors used to take some twenty or twenty-five years ago. These are *now* in a *very inefficient state*, causing loss to the ryots, and rendering the collection of the Government tax more and more rigorous.”

No wonder, then, if the less the engineers have to do with such minor works, and the revenue officials have ceased to interest themselves at all in the matter of such works, “no scope can be found for any further improvements”; so, then, all the expenditure on the “tank restoration scheme” during all these twenty-five years or more, and amounting to over 75 lacs of rupees, has been sheer waste and mere make-believe.

The only major work for irrigation carried out by these engineers of “great reputation” in all these years of any great importance is the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal, and the results of their labours are thus stated in *Indian Engineering* of April 16, 1904, in reviewing the irrigation report, Madras, for 1902-1903 :

“The net revenue shows a clear gain of Rs. 38.73 lacs, or 5.55 per cent., *which would have been increased to 9.61 per cent. if the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal had been left out of account.*”

By ignoring and neglecting all the experience gained by Sir A. Cotton in hydraulic works in India, and positively refusing to allow any of his principles to be acted

upon after he left India, the State has lost *permanently* just over 4 per cent. *a year* on all the capital laid out on such works by these engineers "of reputation." In considering this paper it may be as well to say a few words "on the main causes which have limited the use of the surplus drainage as classified by these Commissioners," according to Mr. Hughes, with some remarks against each :

" 1. The geographical and seasonable distribution of the rainfall." It is not explained why there should be in India any more difficulties about this than have been overcome in the United States of America in their most arid regions.

" 2. The physical configuration of this country." In general this is most favourable for irrigation in all parts of India when dealt with by qualified engineers.

" 3. The difficulty of holding up water stored in years of good rainfall as a provision against a year of drought." This difficulty has been got over in America by storing as much as possible of the *maximum* rainfall in good seasons, *prohibiting all waste* as much as possible, and always retaining from 25 to 30 per cent. of this stored water as a provision against a bad season. This last prevents an immense loss of water by absorption and evaporation when allowed to run into the dry bed of tanks or reservoirs *as we have observed in India.*

" 4. The character of the soil." This is a matter of *no importance*, for a good water-supply is required in all agricultural operations and not for irrigation only.

" 5. The large number of different States and territories into which the country is divided and subdivided." If the interests of the community are properly attended to by the Supreme Government, it will be to the interests of all such States to follow any enlightened policy and example.

It will be seen the most important of all matters connected with the improvements of society—the tenure of land—has been almost entirely ignored by this Commission, and little or no attention paid by them to the only two *possible methods* for enhancing the products of the earth.

It is no wonder why only about 6 per cent. of the rainfall of India is utilized, and 35 per cent. of it allowed to run to waste. Under all these circumstances their report is not likely to be of any use, and it is a matter of no surprise they do not know what to do with the waters of such a river as the Godavari, and pretend to be qualified to ignore all the professional knowledge and experience of such an engineer officer as the late Sir A. Cotton, R.E.

As Mr. Hughes has referred to water-power in India, and its want of "cheap power," it may be permissible to quote some of his remarks. For instance, he says: "There is an immense quantity of water constantly flowing from the hill ranges," but if so, this must flow off by those drainages which he declares have already been fully utilized for irrigation purposes, and "the vested interests" now existing cannot be interfered with. It is then difficult to see how this immense quantity of water constantly flowing from the hills can be utilized for developing "water-power," if those "vested interests" are to be religiously respected. Again he says: "There *must be* very many places where the construction of small *reservoirs* on hill streams would supply a large amount of power, *while at the same time* such works would be valuable in improving and regulating the supply for irrigation." But we have been assured there is now no scope anywhere in India for making any such improvements for irrigation purposes, etc. It is incomprehensible what good these reservoirs can possibly do, for their construction must interfere with those sacred "vested interests" to which he refers.

Unfortunately for India it is this limp, loose manner in which her most vital interests are treated by those who have had to do with her water-supply since Sir A. Cotton left the country that so much misery, ruin, and destitution are prevailing everywhere. If this subject were only dealt with in India as it has been dealt with in the most arid regions of the United States of America, we should never have been told that such a river basin as the Godavari,

with its average rainfall of over fifty inches in the year, cannot possibly be put to any practicable use.

As long as the public in England accept such cock-and-bull stories about the available water-supply of India, so long will this country continue in a chronic condition of famine, when by good honest work India could easily be made to do ten times as much trade with England as she does at the present moment.

In the introduction to "The Wealth of Nations" Adam Smith says : " The annual labour of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessaries and conveniences of life, etc. According, therefore, as this produce bears a greater or smaller proportion to the number of those who are to consume it, the nation will be better or worse supplied with all the necessaries and conveniences for which it has occasion.

" *But* this proportion must in *every nation* be regulated by two different circumstances ; first, by the skill, dexterity, and judgment with which its labour is generally applied ; and, secondly, by the proportion between the number of those who are employed *in useful labour*, and that of those who are not so employed. Whatever be the soil, climate, or extent of territory of any particular nation, the abundance or scantiness of its annual supply must, in that particular situation, depend upon those two circumstances, and more upon the former than upon the latter."

And the truth of this doctrine has been fully verified in our own generation. Japan has, in the short period of thirty years, by developing the skill, dexterity, and judgment of its population, placed herself in the van of all the countries of the earth, and successfully competes against all in industrial occupations ; and in war has shown herself to be a nation quite the equal of any European country.

In India we have neglected this principle almost entirely in mean subserviency to a sordid priestcraft and its debasing superstitions for a period of nearly one and a half centuries, and we have reaped as we have sown ; the population

generally is in the most ignorant, slothful, and helpless condition possible, and this can be verified by the most certain of all criteria—the manner in which they are housed and pass their lives. No pig-sties or dog-kennels in England would be allowed to remain in the wretched condition in which these poor people live, and have been obliged to live for ten or more centuries; and all this deplorable misery has been the result of the caste system and the cruel practices employed by it, which is euphuistically called their “religious prejudices,” in defiance of, and total neglect of, every rational precept and principle.

In Egypt, again, under the able and vigorous administration of Lord Cromer, in about twenty years the country has been so well developed that her financial position in the world is assured; labour having been freed from the cruel burdens laid upon it by *all caste* practices, the people, though slowly, are making sure and certain progress.

This alone is quite sufficient to show there is no evidence whatever to substantiate the statement of Sir Lepel Griffin—“that everything had been done (in India) which can possibly be done under the circumstances”—whilst, in fact, the whole population is still in the most degrading condition of ignorance, superstition, and debasing subjection to a priestly caste system.

No doubt much, very much, has been done in Egypt for irrigation, but it is very doubtful whether more might not have been done with its many natural advantages and its abundant water-supply, and far more economically. For instance, if the outlet of the Victoria Nyanza Lake had been raised only half a yard, sufficient water could have been easily stored in that basin to supply the whole country with water, and to maintain a good navigable canal throughout its entire length, with a branch down to the Red Sea; then would there have been no occasion to construct any of those large dams in different parts of the country for supplying water to the lands here and there, but the whole might



easily have been made into one grand project, and so reduce the cost of maintenance and establishments.

The drainage of the Sudh might have been effected at the same time by cutting through the upper cataracts, and a very large extent of land recovered for cultivation immediately under the Victoria Nyanza Lake, having the cheapest facilities of access to all the markets of the world. Such a work would probably greatly help to supply Lancashire with cotton in a more certain manner than America is ever likely to do. India could do the same, but cannot possibly do so when all its large river-basins are dealt with as the Godavari has been by the Irrigation Commissioners and those who established such a manner of land tenure in it, by which capital and skill cannot be employed on the land at all; and then the public at home are led to believe that irrigation is the mainstay of Indian finance, and everything possible has already been done which could possibly develop the resources of the land! It is, then, no wonder the House of Commons is sick "even unto death" of such Indian fabrications, and will devote no time to the Indian Budget.

If the electors at home wish to know what those "vested interests" are in India which must be most religiously preserved, as Mr. J. D. Rees insists upon so strongly, they have only to take into their consideration the fruits of the zemindari tenure of land, as described by the Government of India itself, and the condition of the population in the districts of Bundel Rhunel *at the present time*.

The following is an extract from the orders of the Government of India on the state of affairs *now* existing in that region: "It appears these land-holders (zemindars, etc.) have become heavily involved in debt, owing chiefly to their own reckless extravagance and borrowings *consequent on the grant to them of proprietary rights some forty years ago*."

And this is the condition of the Central Provinces at the present moment under exactly similar land tenures, and it

was on this account solely that the Irrigation Commission declared hydraulic works could not be profitably established in those territories, which have in the last decade suffered such unheard-of miseries from famines, etc. A more grossly misleading statement about the Godavari River has never before been put forth by anyone than by this engineer "of repute," according to Mr. J. D. Rees. All well-authenticated data go to show that an abundance of water can be most easily stored in this most favourable basin. The Irrigation Commission show the average rainfall is upwards of 50 inches in the year. More than thirty years ago Sir Alexander Binnie, C.E., showed that upwards of 150 acres per square mile of drainage area could be easily supplied with water in this basin, which contains some 120,000 square miles of country. It has been demonstrated that the river can be made navigable for some 400 miles inland, and so connecting those districts with the only good and accessible port on the whole Coromandel coast, and thus affording the people the *cheapest* means of conveying their products into the markets of the world, and for supplying themselves with all the necessities and conveniences of life they may require from other countries. There are any number of sites for excellent reservoirs, as was shown more than thirty years ago to Sir Alexander Binnie, C.E., and the late Sir George Campbell, who *then* approved of such works, but afterwards had the temerity to condemn them before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1878-1879, though he had personally seen and witnessed the absolute need for such works.

Mr. Hughes declares there must be many sites for reservoirs, in which an abundance of water can be stored for water-power purposes and for improving the irrigation, in all parts of the country ; but he totally fails to explain why he, as chief engineer for irrigation in Madras, did not examine the country for these purposes, which it was evidently his duty to do. And now in one breath he tells us there must be many sites for reservoirs for irrigation

purposes, and *at the same time* there is “no scope” for any such improvements in the Madras Presidency, and none whatever in the Godavari basin! The present writer examined this very basin for irrigation and navigation purposes, and found many sites for reservoirs, etc., and has no hesitation whatever in declaring that no part of India presents more favourable conditions for hydraulic work of every sort and kind, and it is nothing but the absurd land settlements made by the Revenue Authorities which prevents such works being established both for the good of the whole population and the Government.

P.S.—Whilst writing the above the English papers inform us that Sir J. T. Brunner has a Bill before Parliament for improving waterways in South Wales for the express purpose of reducing cost of transport as much as possible; yet this all-important matter was not thought worth considering by the Irrigation Commission in India or by any of their engineers of “repute”!—J. F. F.

## TEA AND TAXATION.\*

BY J. D. REES, C.I.E.

IN a famous but now forgotten case in the law courts, a distinguished defendant argued that, though he could not paint, he was entitled to perform the functions of a critic in respect of the art, because he had spent his life among paintings; whereon the painter plaintiff retorted that the policeman at the National Gallery might, upon a parity of reasoning, claim to be a competent critic. I feel myself that my readers will say, What are the speaker's qualifications to treat of tea, over and above his being a consumer of this beneficial and universal beverage? and I must answer, like the defendant I have quoted, and admit that the coolie in the tea-garden can claim, like myself, to have spent his life in planting and among planters. If the coolie could be called as a witness, he, too, would be on the planter's side. I have told in the *Times* and in the Viceroy's Council a little story which throws a useful sidelight upon the relations of employer and employed in India. There were two coolies on a tea estate in Cochin who fell ill, and were treated and dieted by their employer and his wife till they recovered, when, as they seemed not unwilling to remain indefinitely upon the sick-list, they received a hint that they had better return to duty, whereupon they fell to and wept, and asked if it were possible that the sahib and the mem sahib, after treating them for so long a time like their own children, could ever expect them to work like coolies again!

Well, a man who has been Collector of the Nilgiris, Resident in Travancore and Cochin, and Madras Member of the Legislative Council at Calcutta, has served on the Select Committee of the Assam Labour Bill, and has long studied and written upon questions relating to the industry; has, at least, had much experience of planting

\* Paper read at a meeting of the East India Association, July 20, 1904. See discussion elsewhere in this number.

and planters ; and it is the fact that having been brought up in the straitest sect of the Secretariat, with just a suspicion of its pharisaical attitude, subsequent personal experience has convinced me that the planters are most valuable auxiliaries of the administration, are just and kindly employers of labour, and that their interests are intimately bound up with the welfare of our British and our British-Indian fellow-subjects. It may appear superfluous to say this, but ever since the days of the Nil Darpan a lingering suspicion has survived that the planter is an arbitrary, if not tyrannical, labour lord, who tramples upon laws and regulations, rules his little territory with a rod of iron, lives in luxury, if not riot, bites his thumb at the virtuous Government, and snaps his fingers at its conscientious officers. The picture in every particular is the reverse of the facts. The planter can now with difficulty make a living, though his ineradicable instincts of hospitality prompt him, like Hatim Tai, to kill his last camel for the entertainment of a guest ; and, of all the men in the world, he is the last to deal harshly with labourers, who are shy of approach, difficult to retain, and by no means the helpless and servile herd which they are, from ignorance or interest, too often represented to be. The tea-garden coolie knows very well how many beans make four, and realizing that he can get good wages and good treatment, will not remain in the service of an unjust or violent employer, whose garden becomes boycotted all over the countryside.

In fact, in recent years it has been admitted in Southern India that it is the planter, rather than the labourer, who needs protection ; and during a recent controversy on this subject in Assam, there was, if I remember rightly, only one of the officers of the Commission who agreed in the view suggested, that other than friendly and satisfactory relations existed between the coolies and the planters.

We have, therefore, the fact that seven-eighths of a million of our Indian fellow-subjects depend upon this industry, and in 1902 they cultivated upwards of half a million of acres—

mostly reclaimed from unproductiveness and useless to the State—which yielded upwards of 188½ million pounds of tea in 1902, while in Ceylon, the prosperity of which depends on the tea trade, 385,000 acres yielded about 149 million pounds. It is an industry the history of which shows that tea-planters can act as well as think imperially in the cultivation of a product we can, without harm, nay, with advantage, drink imperially. Tea properly prepared never comes amiss, and there is no better drink on which to resist thirst during big game-shooting in the hot sun. In 1879 we consumed 124 million pounds of China, and 34 million pounds of Indian, tea; at present we consume about 15 million pounds of the former and upwards of 150 million pounds of the latter product, valued at about £5,060,000 per annum. The stuff of which tea-planters are made is well known to those who see them perambulate their gardens in the sun, or walk the jungles with their rifle, but, fiscally speaking, they are men of mettle also, and can even impose upon themselves such taxation as is fair and reasonable. Than this I know few higher forms of courage.

The credit of this development is due to Ceylon, whose planters induced an appreciative Government to place a tax upon tea exported from the island in order to provide means with which to develop the sale of Ceylon tea in foreign markets. This example was applauded by administrations and Chancellors of the Exchequer all the world over; and all must admire the example set by the Ceylon planters, who snatched success from the very jaws of disaster. As the result of their efforts to develop the island of Ceylon, we have seen the prosperous tea industry rise phoenix-like from the ashes of the coffee estates.

At the present moment the consumption of Ceylon tea in the United Kingdom is upwards of 78 million pounds, and 31 per cent. of the total import. Australia, which is unwilling to receive the Indian coolie, none the less takes kindly to his tea in preference to that of China. Canada, also, likes Indian tea, and Russia has at last learnt that this

leaf is very much like that of Ceylon, and she now takes some 35 million pounds of both—a development in which I am proud to think that I took some small part when I was authorized by the Nilgiri planters to make the best use I could of samples of their excellent tea during the year I spent qualifying as a Russian Interpreter.

The success of the assault upon the American market depended very much upon the development of the green and uncoloured variety, and here again the enterprising Crown Colony showed the way to the adjacent continent, and again it was the appreciative Government of Ceylon which lent a helping hand. Out of the tax raised a bounty was given for exporting suitable green and uncoloured tea, and in 1903 this bounty was paid on no less than 11 million pounds, destined chiefly for Canada and North America. India again followed suit, and also offered a bounty for the manufacture of the tea called Oolong. Considerable interest attaches to these essays, because, as all tea-drinkers know, brands of tea differ as widely as brands of wine.

Tea is a delicate product, and in countries in which it is understood—to wit, Russia, Persia, and China—the use of milk with it is an abomination, and tea so treated stands, in fact, upon the same footing as wine superlatively iced, the quality of which can really only satisfactorily or unsatisfactorily disclose itself next morning. It will be a good day for England when this fact is appreciated, when tea-soup and tea-stew are looked upon as being what they are—the abuse and not the use of one of the most beneficial products of the vegetable kingdom. But if India had at first rather lagged behind Ceylon in enterprise—and this impression was very much confirmed by all I saw and heard at Moscow—it must be allowed that of late a most important development dates from the Empire. Lord Curzon, who showed his sympathy with the planters by deferring for two years the introduction of the higher wage in Assam, and by adopting the unusual course of forwarding, with the support of his

Government, protests against the last additional tax to the Home Government, has also interested himself in developing tea drinking among the natives of India. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this measure both to the tea trade, and to the cause of health and temperance. What so beneficial to a people whose greatest enemies are fever, dysentery, and the like diseases, as drinking boiled water—a necessary result of taking tea! What more important than to substitute amongst the poor the cheering and unharmed cup for the noxious and fever-breeding spirit! For, though the fact is ignored in England, like almost every other fact regarding our Indian Empire, the poor and the lower castes will drink whenever they have a copper to spare, as inevitably as the British labourer will take his beer, the people their brandy and whisky, and the rich their wine, in England. There is a temperance party in India, and it consists of the planters who are always agitating for the removal of liquor shops in the vicinity of their estates, as strongly as their friends in England press for a reduction in licenses.

And of all brands of tea, I doubt very much whether a better flavoured leaf grows anywhere than upon the high range of Travancore, where some ten thousand acres have lately come into bearing chiefly owing to the activity of Messrs. Finlay, Muir and Co. The climate and rainfall here and the height of these hills—hitherto only known as the paradise of sportsmen—joined with other climatic conditions, serve to produce a very fine-flavoured tea. I have seen with my own eyes this virgin district develop; and, whilst as a sportsman it was impossible to help regretting that its lawns should be scarred and seamed with roads, its forests felled and burnt, the elephant and the bison driven north, south, and west, and the ibex disturbed by the sound of the pick-axe and the chatter of the coolie, the administrator and the friend of India can only rejoice to see the most inaccessible heights brought under industrial control, and the pathless forests converted into a hive of



industry with great advantage to the population of the Malabar and Coromandel coasts on either side of the end of the backbone of India. As I did what lay within me towards assisting the development of this field, it is with satisfaction akin to that felt by a real planter that I read Messrs. George White's report "that no district gives a better proportion of full deep coloured fluids which are so much appreciated by distributors."

It is no less than extraordinary that little public attention has been called to the crushing increase in the duty on tea, that more indignation has not been expressed by the holders of some thirty to forty millions of capital who live in this country, and by the consumers of tea who are driven at each progressive increase—though perhaps they hardly appreciate the fact—to consume a lower class of leaf, the stimulating and exhilarating qualities of which are less, the flavour and medicinal properties of which are inferior, and the pleasure and profit of consuming which are altogether infinitely less.

There is no doubt that since the public cannot afford to pay more than a certain price for their tea, and since even among the rich many are ignorant of the fact that the leaf differs enormously, and that cheap tea is not the best—perhaps not even the cheapest—the consequence is that the public gets a worse article, and thus a temperance drink incurs an unpopularity or fails to obtain a credit, which it deserves.

The duty from 1865 to 1890 was 6d. a pound, with a reduction of 2d. till 1900, when the extra 2d. was put on again, on account of the war. It was admitted that 6d. a pound was a heavy burden to the industry; and though the planters loyally accepted the extra 2d. as a war-tax, which it was admitted to be by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, the result was a further depression in price, and it was seen that the last increase in the duty had to be divided between the producer and the consumer.

Filled with the consciousness that this was an industry

carried on by British capital with British labour in British possessions, the planter and those interested in the tea trade confidently expected, and, indeed, had been encouraged by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to expect, that the war 2d. would be taken off at the earliest possible moment. With the tax\* at this rate, tea paid 80 per cent. of its value, and next to the Russian Government, which till just now has been full of friendly professions, and which has put on a differential 1d. against Indian tea, no tea-consuming country of any importance, except France and Italy, taxes our tea as highly as we do ourselves. Even Germany, which we are disposed at the present to regard as our fiscal foe, charges 5½d. against our 8d. It is doubtful whether the feeling of indignation or resentment exceeded that of surprise when the Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose father's professed faith is that our own industries should be protected, announced that while during the war the tea trade had been chastised with whips, it should in the time of peace be chastised with scorpions, and be taxed upwards of 100 per cent. of its value—indeed, up to 125 per cent. of the value of the cheaper kinds of tea which are chiefly consumed in this country. For the cause of temperance imperatively demands that the consumers of the better class of teas should be encouraged, and that tea should be allowed at least to fight on even terms with alcoholic liquors for the position of the chief place as a stimulant, and a comfort to the working classes of this country, who suffer so much from the excessive consumption of liquor, whose taxation all round is increased enormously by the expenses and the charges to which the Government is put, in many directions, due directly or indirectly to that intemperance, which is a blot upon our civilization.

It is, of course, true that the price of tea does not

\* Is it realized that Indian raw cotton and hides are admitted free into all countries but Russia and one other, our dye-stuffs into all but Russia and two other countries, and that our jute is free everywhere except in the Empire of the Czar; that our exports to Russia in all pay 120 per cent. on the total value?

immediately respond to a rise or fall in taxation ; it is true that the 1s. tax on wheat did not raise the price of bread to the full extent of 1s., because the harvest is a far greater factor than the tax ; but nothing can obscure the fact that a rise in tax either leads to a rise in the price of the product to the consumer, or deprives him of a fall in its price which would result from increased production, or drives him to the consumption of an article either adulterated, or of a lower class than that which he would otherwise be able to purchase.

Nor is this all. I am not one of those who oppose the currency policy of the Indian Government, which was in such straits that a less virtuous administration would long before have taken some violent steps to place its finances on a more satisfactory footing ; but it must be admitted that the interests of the administration and its officers, regarded as a body bound to remit annually a certain sum to England, and to supply all its own needs in India, are not necessarily identical with those of the Indian producer ; and in this case the tea-planter stands upon the same footing as the grower of wheat or any other Indian product.

It is obvious that if the tea is sold, as it is, for gold in foreign countries, the gold price is far larger to the planter when he can get 20 rupees for the sovereign than when he only gets 15, for the purchasing power of the rupee, and its value as a labour-paying unit, has not greatly varied in India. Without, however, going into this question, which is abhorred by everyone, the main facts will be sufficiently evident if we keep them unencumbered with argument, and it will then appear that the tea industry is very hardly hit by the currency policy ; for though it was alleged that gold prices would experience an equivalent appreciation to the rise in the value of the rupee, we have not, in fact, seen that phenomenon. When the Mints were closed in 1893, the average price of tea was 9½d. per pound ; after the expiry of a decade we find the prices are 2d. lower than they then were. In the face of these

simple facts, while admitting the existence of other factors, it seems to me impossible to argue that the Indian tea industry was not heavily burdened, and that it is not still suffering from the effects of a policy, which was very likely in other respects right and proper to pursue. My contention is that this industry, which has such special claims upon the British Government, has in point of fact been sorely hit by the currency policy, and has been singled out for successive increases of taxation in a manner which seems to indicate that the ease of collection, the circumstance that tea is not used in any industry, and the fact that those interested are loyal and silent subjects, who have on former occasions accepted taxation when they felt that they were getting more than their fair share, that these facts have operated to deprive them of that right to be taxed only in their turn and in moderation, which is so strongly asserted in the House of Commons and by the electorate in respect of other industries.

This is not a political platform, and no party views are tolerated by the East India Association. These objections would be equally made, if this last increase had been imposed by a Liberal Administration. But it is only right and proper that the electorate should realize what a burden of taxation has been piled upon this harmless, beneficial, and necessary product of British industry. True, the trade can and does, to some extent, meet these assaults by the regulation of sales, but it is not desirable that a great industry should be driven to reduce its output because of excessive taxation, nor can it possibly do this beyond certain limits. Nor will any such combinations, whatever the provocation, be viewed with satisfaction in this country. Not, however, that producers when they spread their sales over the twelve months can be said to establish a trust. Tea is not like barley or wheat, an annually sown and gathered crop, but takes four or five years to come to bearing. There is something in the life of a tea-planter which develops individualism, a fact which is not in the

least surprising to those who have been accustomed to ride round tea estates, generally isolated units in an unfamiliar aggregate. It is difficult to effect a combination under such circumstances and with such material, and all must sympathize with those who plant large areas and find them coming into bearing under conditions very different from those which promised when the estates were opened out. One does not need to be a planter to know that a good deal of tea land has been abandoned, numbers of assistants and managers have had to submit to reductions in salaries, many estates have become hopelessly involved, and the aggregate value of the capital employed has fallen by upwards of 10 millions sterling, or 45 per cent. between top point of market value and present market value in the case of 170 companies.

As the increase in duty in 1900 synchronized with the coming into bearing of large areas previously opened, so the increase of 1904 has come at a time when the crop of 1903 had been sold, and when the imports from Ceylon are light, and this has made its immediate effect upon the market, as Mr. Stanton pointed out, less serious than would otherwise have been the case. The effect, however, has been already to raise the price of the cheaper kinds of tea, and in some cases and places to the full amount of the duty, and to cause the demand for the better grades of tea to diminish—in short, to seriously depreciate the values. The poor will not—cannot pay more than they did before, and the dealer cannot supply it at the former price. Statistics collected from 20,000 grocers prove that sales show a diminution of 5 to 7½ per cent. The immediate effect, therefore, of this Budget will be to encourage the importation of the lowest class of tea from China, and to prejudice particularly Indian tea. No increase in consumption can now be expected in England, and the tea trade must look to further developing the foreign markets, from which one inference is this—and it is one of the widest application and underlies all fiscal problems—that in the

twentieth century distance has been annihilated, geographical limits and national ties are obliterated, and in commerce the world is only one market.

I have referred to the labour question in Assam. It never occurred to me that the raising of the statutory wage was necessary when the coolies were far better off in the gardens than in their homes, and settled in large numbers, with their savings, in the country of their adoption. The latest authority to hand on this subject is the compiler of the Census Report for India, dated 1903. He says of the tea-garden coolies of Assam, "they prosper greatly in their new home, and many of them settle there for good. Tea is the one industry in which capital is invested, and although one-eighth of the population are foreigners, the indigenous castes have shared in the prosperity which the district owes to a number of well-managed tea-gardens, to which ruined cultivators and landless labourers from the Central Provinces proceed in order to settle down and prosper in Assam. On the expiry of their agreements, large numbers either stay on as garden coolies or settle down as cultivators, herdsman, or traders, while of those who return home many eventually find their way back to Assam, where, in 1900, they held 90,000 acres directly under Government, besides a large area held by their sub-tenants. They are thus helping to colonize this fertile province, while Sir Henry Cotton's elaborate scheme has proved infructuous. The supreme difficulty of Indian administration is that nine-tenths of the population, a fifth of which is congregated on less than a twentieth of the area of the Empire, follow a few simple occupations. Assam is singled out by the Census Commissioner as the honourable exception in this behalf, due to the employment of one-tenth of its population in the extensive tea industry, and the province is, in fact, unique as an example of what new industries with foreign capital can do to develop waste, and to relieve the congestion in over-populated, tracts. No less than 339,000 out of a total of 525,000 acres under tea, all contributing to the

revenues of India, are situated in Assam, and the creation of this industry, and the labour supply of this province are—as the *Times*, at any rate, recognised—matters of Imperial importance. The Act of 1901, on the Select Committee of which I served in its earlier stages, has in fact already given great dissatisfaction. Nor is this astonishing when on one group of estates 320 sirdars, or captains, succeeded in recruiting 330 coolies! If, however, Cachar and Sylhet can do without State aid, the Brahmaputra Valley is not yet in such a position, though it may be when the Assam Railway system is completed. If the planting industry has cause to complain of restrictions in respect of recruiting, it should, however, never forget the sacrifices made by the Government, or rather by the Indian taxpayer, to provide them with railways. The proposed transfer of certain Bengal districts to the Assam administration is also to the advantage of the industry; and Lord Curzon, who favours this measure, and is now at home, should be approached in order to urge him to proceed with this project, and to develop Chittagong as the port of the enlarged Assam Province, within the boundaries of which, in that case, the Assam Railway will, to its great advantage, run throughout its length. It is easy to urge the Indian Government to expedite the construction of a line between Dhubri and Gowhati, in order to connect the Northern Bengal State Railway with the Assam-Bengal system, and such a measure would be most beneficial. But it must not be forgotten that what the Government is already doing for Assam in this behalf proves a heavy drain on the Imperial resources.

To the seven-eighths of a million of coolies on the Indian tea-gardens must be added nearly half a million of Indian coolies working in the tea-gardens of Ceylon. Some of my readers will hardly agree “that though separately administered by the Colonial Office, Ceylon is to all intents and purposes an integral part of India”; but India and Ceylon alike profit by the Ceylon tea industry, and it is devoutly to be desired that with better railway accommodation the

Ceylon system of private recruitment may come to prevail at Assam. It is matter for conjecture whether the able writer of the Census Report was aware, that Ceylon taxes the import of Indian tea at a far higher rate than India taxes Ceylon tea, a difference against which South Indian planters of equally good tea not unnaturally protest.

Perusal of all the papers connected with the Assam labour question strongly impressed me with the fact that all those familiar with the province, whether as chief commissioners or deputy commissioners, had expressed themselves very favourably towards the planters and the industry, and that the state of affairs upon the Assam plantations was probably not far different from that which existed upon the plantations in South India, the owners of which I believe required nothing but an amendment of the Extradition Act, and will find that the advantages they have reaped under their new local Act will be dearly paid for by the loss of independence and the intervention of Government officials. In our treatment of the Indian, I think we have always inclined to err in assuming too readily that he requires protection, and wherever the planters—who, I confidently assert, can be trusted—can get along without Acts, so much the better. That there have been abuses connected with the working of the Labour Acts in Bengal is admitted. That such abuses have been exaggerated and made far more of than was necessary, is my own individual opinion. But not only officers err. Only a few days ago, at the meeting of the Tea Association, a gentleman suggested that Act XIII. of 1859, in the interest of the planters, should be amended.

The suggestion shows, I think, a complete misunderstanding of the position, and a want of appreciation of the fact that converting a breach of contract into a penal offence is contrary to the spirit and the practice of modern legislation. The less special legislation the better. This Act was never intended to apply to planters and their coolies, and the only amendment it is ever likely to undergo is an amendment making it impossible of such application.



It is, at the same time, as it stands of great assistance to planters, and no other legislation passed in their interests is likely to be half as beneficial. Witness the new Assam Labour Act, which already has proved the failure it was foreseen it would be, by many of those who have had practical experience in planting. Without cheap labour the tea industry must disappear, for the producer has already cut down cost of production to the lowest point of  $4\frac{1}{2}$ d. a pound. In Native states, which are upon the whole governed in these respects more in accordance with Indian ideas, there is less law than in British India, and but for extradition difficulties, there is little for instance, in Mysore, Travancore, and Cochin of which to complain. The South Indian planters are, I believe, themselves coming round to that opinion. I sincerely hope that, instead of working for the amendment in their favour of Act XIII. of 1859, or for further legislation, planters will combine to bring public opinion to bear upon any one of their number who gives occasion for the enemy to blaspheme, and brings undeserved discredit upon a body of generous employers. I hope they will lean as little as possible upon the Government, which cannot show them any favour in their relations with the natives, and, indeed, not without reason, is extremely shy of incurring this suspicion. The Indian Government is friendly—never more friendly than as at present. Witness the imposition of the tea-cess and its intervention regarding the tea duty. It is the Government and the electorates in England who want enlightening as to the interests of the Indian tea trade, which are in point of fact exactly identical with their own.

The effect of a high duty must be either to check consumption or to lower the price to the buyer, so as to bring the article within the means of the consumer, notwithstanding the duty; thus, in fact, when the duty was raised from 4d. to 6d. the demand for the commonest tea improved, while the demand for the finer qualities dwindled, except at prices which left little or no profit to the grower. Mr. Verner

has shown conclusively how the heavy duty led to combinations of blenders to force down prices, lest consumers called on to pay the duty, should largely diminish the amount they consumed. Mr. Verner also exposed the fallacy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's argument that the extra duty would not check consumption, because if there is a check in consumption there must be a fall in price. The Chancellor overlooks the fact that producers cannot produce at a loss, and that statistics conclusively prove the check which has already resulted to the natural increase of British-grown tea. In view of the facts, it is with a feeling akin to despair we hear the Chancellor arguing that the poor man knows what is good tea, and will get it. Where are these private hoards which enable him to pay a higher price for the same tea he got before? —the working man who, with an income of £90, pays taxation at the rate of 1s. 7d. in the £, against 1s. paid by those having incomes of £200 and over? The workmen in Lancashire and Yorkshire, our greatest manufacturing centres, who are also the greatest consumers of tea, can no doubt answer this question. What, then, must be the result of the duty of 8d.? The answer is obvious. Why, too, as Mr. Bryans very naturally argued at Winchester House meeting, was the tax on tea perpetually raised, while that on coffee, which chiefly comes from foreign countries, remains at 1½d. per pound and on cocoa at 1d.? Why, I may add, are aerated waters, valued at five times the tea consumed, considered more sacred than the equally unalcoholic infusion of the tea leaf, which is taxed over 100 per cent. of its value, while wine pays 11 per cent.? True, taxing these products would produce less money, but the Arab proverb says, "Better an hour of justice than seventy years of prayer," and the aggregate of smaller sums would be no despicable amount. Let everyone understand that owing to the present taxation, you cannot buy even drinkable tea under 1s. 6d. per pound. If it costs the planter 6½d. per pound to grow his tea, feed

himself, and provide interest on his capital, there remains 8d. a pound duty, 2d. a pound for distribution, 1½d. a pound carriage—which all works out to a minimum of 1s. 6d. Lord George Hamilton said the other day at the Society of Arts, that a tea-importer told him some time ago that leaf which was unfit for human consumption and had been seized by the Customs, was to be exported for consumption abroad, but at the present rate of taxation we shall in future consume such rubbish ourselves. What we particularly want to do, in the interest of the consumer in this country, is to prevent the use of China tea as a blend with the high-class Indian and Ceylon article. We have heard a great deal in Parliament of late about the gorges of individual members rising at certain proposals, but the stomachs of the British people should express in whatever way is natural to these organs, their protest against taxation, which encroaches at every turn upon their privileges. Sir Kay Muir, in a very interesting speech, which he made at the meeting at Winchester House, urged that the Indian Budget surpluses of the last few years have been got at the expense of the producers, that England has no right to shift on to India's shoulders an unduly large charge for Imperial purposes, and suggested, that this increase in tea taxation covered a dark design for the discrediting of free trade, and it is not a little remarkable that fiscal reformers have already begun to write about the tax on Indian tea and Indian tobacco, as a proof of the need for Tariff Reform. We must, however, carefully avoid such special pleading as this, and confine ourselves to the undisputed facts of the situation. Sir Roper Lethbridge, whose argument on the whole case I confess I am unable to follow, says "that Indian tea and tobacco will always have to contend with high tariffs in foreign parts, but with the British Government the case is, or ought to be, very different." We may accept that fact without weighting this question with any party or political argument. With the British Government the case ought to be, but indeed is not, different. Sir Roper also says

that it is now perfectly clear "that no one really believes the old myth of the free importer that the consumer pays the duty." I believe him to be entirely mistaken, and that it is held—and, I believe, rightly held—that the consumer does chiefly suffer, but that when taxation rises to such prodigious heights, the consumer and the producer have to share the loss—both being hit in the purse, and one also in the stomach, which is not fair fighting.

The fact is known, and has been communicated to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that, owing to the high duty on tea, Chinese leaf, refused admission into the United States as unfit for consumption, is sold under cost price in Britain for blending with Indian and Ceylon leaf. Up till now India and Ceylon have divided between them more than nine-tenths of the tea trade of the United Kingdom; and though no preferential tariff can aid such a trade, excessive duties can, and do, act as a preference to China, with the exception of Java, the only, and till now a defeated, competitor, the consumption of whose teas combined has risen from 19 to 26 millions in three years. Nor is the effect less disastrous upon the volume of consumption, a falling off of 10 million pounds having supplied the place of a normal increase of the same amount in the last ten years. It must be remembered that in the sixties, when the tea tax was as high as 1s. 5d., Chinese tea was the luxury of the rich, but now Indian tea is the comfort of the poor.

The conclusions at which I would arrive are these: That the tea-planters of India and Ceylon are just and beneficial employers of labour, with whose well-being is bound up that of millions of our fellow-subjects. That, after a long uphill fight, the produce of our own possessions, raised by British capital with British labour, has ousted the Chinese leaf which previously held the field. That Lord Curzon and his Government have shown great sympathy with the tea industry, recognising that the increase of the consumption of tea will be extremely beneficial to the Indians, whose

greatest enemies are dysentery and the like diseases. That it is extraordinary that more public attention has not been called to the progressive increase in duty on tea, which pays from 100 to 125 per cent. of the value, against 11 per cent. levied on wine. That a rise in the tea tax either leads to a rise in the price of the product to the consumer or deprives him of a fall in its price which would result from increased production, or drives him to the consumption of an article either adulterated or of a lower class than that which he would otherwise be able to purchase. That, without condemning the currency policy of the Indian Government, we must admit that it bears hard upon the planters, who get 15 rupees instead of 20 for every sovereign paid for their tea, while rupees go no farther in India than they did before. That the result of increases in the duty has from time to time been obscured by the simultaneous effects of overproduction, but that already the effect of the War 2d. has been to prevent the normal increase in consumption, while the Peace 2d. has raised the price of the cheaper kinds of tea, has led to adulteration by the worst kind of Chinese tea, and has caused the demand for the better grades to diminish. That the Assam Labour Act of 1891 is proving a failure. That the Criminal Breach of Contract Act is never likely to be amended in favour of planters, who should lean as little as possible upon Government assistance, though they deserve all they can get, the latest proof of the prosperous condition of the tea-garden coolies in Assam being found in the Indian Census Report, which shows conclusively, how beneficial to India and Assam is this industry. That Lord Curzon, who has approved himself a friend to the industry, should be approached in regard to the construction of a line between Dhubri and Gowhati, the transfer of certain districts to Assam, and the development of the port of Chittagong. That the planters should, nevertheless, not forget the great sacrifices the general taxpayer in India is

making for the construction of railways in Assam. That the heavy tea duties have driven blenders to combine to force down prices, lest the consumers, finding themselves called on to pay the whole duty, should largely diminish the amount they consume. That the Chancellor of the Exchequer's argument that the extra duty will not check consumption, because if there is a check in consumption there must be a fall in price, entirely overlooks the fact that production has been cut down to the lowest figure, just as his argument, that because the poor man knows good tea, he will insist on getting it, ignores the fact that he has not the wherewithal to purchase the product at an enhanced price, and must pay either in pocket, or in health by consuming inferior stuff. That, though no preferential tariff could apparently stimulate a trade of which British dependencies already possess nine-tenths, yet excessive duties can, and do, act as a preference given to China, the import of whose teas has risen from 19 to 26 million pounds in the last three years. That, though in the sixties the tax was as high as 1s. 5d., Chinese tea was then the luxury of the rich, and Indian tea is now the comfort of the poor.

## A SUGGESTION FOR THE ABOLITION OF THE SALT MONOPOLY WITHOUT ANY MATERIAL SACRIFICE OF REVENUE.

BY J. B. PENNINGTON, B.L. (CANTAB.).

It may seem Utopian to bring forward such a subject as this for discussion by such an eminently practical and sober-minded body as the East India Association, but as continued agitation has at length resulted in a reduction of 20 per cent. in the duty, it does not seem quite hopeless to look forward to the time when this most undesirable tax will be a thing of the past, like the corresponding English tax.

It is nearly thirty years since I first entered on a campaign which seemed to the great majority of Anglo-Indian authorities quixotic or even mischievous, and it is only within the last few years that I have ever had any reason to hope that we might ultimately succeed. Even now the official view is the same as ever, and the Finance Minister in announcing the reduction was careful to point out as the peculiar merit of the tax that it could so easily be raised again in case of need. Some time or other I hope it may occur to some daring financier to try whether a lower rate of duty would not in time produce an even greater revenue. It is a thousand pities that the one really great financier we ever had in India in my time should have been, comparatively speaking, wasted on a small country like Egypt.

To save time I shall assume that a company of experts are acquainted with certain facts, such as that the average consumption of salt in India is not at present much, if at all, more than half of what is generally considered absolutely necessary for perfect health, especially amongst a population so largely vegetarian (they don't *all* live on rice and vegetables and drink water, as Mr. O'Donnell says) ; and it must always be remembered that the well-to-do classes, who may

(even according to Mr. Digby) number 60,000,000, will certainly eat (and waste) a great deal more than the 25 pounds usually considered to be necessary,\* so that very much less than the average amount will be left for the poorest classes who suffer so much at all times from want of food and malnutrition generally.

It will be interesting to see what effect the recent reduction in price has had upon consumption. I shall be disappointed if the extra consumption does not almost, if not entirely, make up for the loss of revenue; if it does not, I shall be inclined to fear that the masses are even poorer than some of us imagined.† It is also very curious to see what the merchants and others concerned in the British salt trade

\* In England the average is 62 pounds.

† The particulars given by Lord Curzon in his speech at Chittagong of the result of the remission of taxation last year are evidence at once of the wisdom of the step, and of the desirability of going further in the same direction this year.

"Our information from every quarter points to the fact," His Excellency said, "that the reduction of a year ago has produced a material fall in price, *resulting in a general increase of consumption*, and in unquestioned relief to the masses. In illustration of the former proposition, I may mention that, whereas we estimated a sacrifice of revenue of 173 lakhs in the present year owing to the reduction, the loss will not be more than 150 lakhs, and perhaps less. As regards the price and the effect upon the consumer, I find that retail prices are nearly everywhere lower, and I learn from Bombay that no fewer than 80 per cent. of the population have been beneficially affected by the reduction, and from Bengal that, though the relief has naturally been experienced to a greater extent by the large consumer than by the small, and in towns more than in remote country districts, yet it has proved to be a very appreciable benefit to the poorer classes of the population, for whom it was chiefly intended, amounting, in the case of an ordinary family, to the saving per month of the wages of a full day's labour."

Does this not conclusively establish the need of further reduction of the duty on a commodity which, in the words of Mr. Fawcett, ought to be as free from taxation as the very air we breathe? There is a recorded pledge of Government that at the earliest possible date the duty should be altogether abolished. The splendid surpluses that are year after year being reaped by Government make the fulfilment of this pledge perfectly easy. At all events, even if there is to be no total repeal, the case for a further reduction is simply irresistible, and there can be absolutely no justification for the continuance of the impost at the present figure.—*The Indian People*, February 27, 1904.



have to say about this question of the consumption of salt in India when the falling off begins to touch their pockets. "To the population of India," says an advocate of more English salt for Indian consumption, "the complete abolition of the salt tax would be a reform beneficent beyond conception. The consumption of salt would probably be trebled *within three years*—" and yet no one would eat more salt than was good for him. "Finally, the salt-producers and shippers have worked themselves into the belief that the salt tax ought (do they mean on moral grounds?) to be abolished. On this point they say: The question of the complete abolition of the salt tax—not inaptly termed the 'bread tax of the Hindu'—is probably the most important question that can receive the attention of members of the English salt trade as a united body at the present time," and so on.

"On moral grounds?" Well, not exactly; because these enterprising gentlemen go on to suggest that English salt only should be admitted duty-free, and the well-informed London correspondent of *United India* seems to suggest that in order to satisfy them even Indian salt would have to be taxed. But it is hardly credible even in these days that Protection could be so brazen-faced, and if they can succeed in getting rid of the duty on English salt we may be sure the Indian duty must follow suit, so that I, for one, am inclined to bid them "go up to Ramoth-gilead," whatever the result may be to their own business. If they succeed in getting rid of the tax by the use of political or other influence with the English Government, I should not refuse the gift, however much I might object to the means employed to obtain it; and if, after all, they gained nothing by it themselves, I should be inclined to say that it served them quite right.

As it is now more than ten years since I wrote a short paper in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* advocating the abolition of the duty, and as circumstances have not changed much since then, except for the recent most welcome

reduction, I cannot do better than repeat a good deal of what I said in that paper, especially as I have seen nothing since in the arguments on the other side to convince me that my case was ill-founded, and it is likely enough that many persons have not even read that paper. As a matter of fact, there never is any argument on the other side, except that the revenue derived from the salt tax is indispensable, and that no substitute can be devised for it. Now, many people would say, and I am inclined to agree with them, that the amount of the salt revenue might easily be saved by reduction of expenditure, especially on the army, or, still better, by debiting to the Home Government a reasonable share of the cost of the Indian army, which is surely as much part of an Imperial system of defence as the navy itself. But as I am quite incapable of forming any useful opinion as to the amount which might fairly be debited to this country on that account, I shall confine myself to showing how the money might still be raised as a salt tax, even if the monopoly were abolished; and I prefer this course, because I do not see why even the poorest should not contribute something—say 6d. a year per family—towards the security and good government of the country. In France “each citizen owes to the State the value of three days’ work, and the value of a day’s work cannot exceed 1 franc 50 cents, or be less than 50 centimes (5d.).” In India the value of a day’s work for one of the poorer classes might be fairly estimated at 2 annas, and the value of three days’ work, or, say, 1 per cent. of their annual toil, would be just about 6d. Forty-eight million families at 6d. each would produce well over one million sterling. But there are a vast number of people in India—let us adopt Mr. Digby’s figures, and say 60 millions, or about 12 million heads of families—who can, and do, habitually pay a great deal more for their salt than the “average”; and if we assess these really prosperous people at half a maund, which is only two-thirds of the average consumption in this country, including that of the poorest of the poor, and charge them at the rate of Rs. 2

a maund, the present reduced price, we should realize at once Rs. 60,000,000, or £4,000,000 net, with scarcely any extra cost for collection beyond the present revenue establishments. No one can pretend that a man with from Rs. 10 to Rs. 25 a month, who is well above the line of extreme poverty, cannot afford to pay 8 annas a year, or the present cost of about 20 pounds of salt, for each of his family, say 2 rupees 8 annas a year altogether; and in the same way a man with from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 a month could pay Rs. 5 a year, and a man with Rs. 100 or more, Rs. 10, any deficiency being made up by somewhat higher taxation of the wealthy classes, who, no doubt, consume (and waste) far more than a maund of salt each in the year. To guard against misconception I ought, perhaps, to mention that everyone would be liable to this salt tax, so that the number of persons assessed to the present income tax would form but a small part of those who would pay the salt tax at the highest rate. There would, of course, be no exemption for agriculturists.

But it is objected that this slight direct taxation, even when coupled with the wholly inestimable benefit of free salt for every purpose, would be more obnoxious to the people than the present indirect method of levying it, with all its inevitable drawbacks. I cannot believe that the more intelligent of the people, amongst whom the twelve millions would certainly be found, would take this view, and I am quite sure that when they began to realize the immense advantages that would follow on the unrestricted consumption of salt by the poor and by their cattle, as well as in agriculture and the arts, they would soon see that the new way of levying the tax was a priceless boon to the country.

I say that even the poorest people could not fairly object to paying sixpence a year in exchange for absolutely free salt, because they probably spend quite as much as that under the present system, and because I am still of opinion that they pay scarcely any other *compulsory* tax, notwithstanding Professor Gokhale's argument to the contrary.

No doubt under the present system "the bulk of the salt revenue does come" (as he says) "from the pockets of the poorer classes," and it is this grossly unequal incidence that is one of its most objectionable features. But when he goes on to say that the Abkari revenue is contributed mainly by the poor, his language is misleading, because no one need spend one penny on liquor unless he chooses; it is a purely voluntary, *self-imposed* tax, and I have no sympathy to waste on anyone who chooses to pay it. Then he says the forest revenue is paid "mainly by the poor," and no doubt the restrictions unavoidably necessary do chiefly affect the poorest classes; but of actual money payment there is little or nothing, except it be in the shape of bribes to the most objectionable but inevitable preventive service. As to stamps and registration, I do not suppose one in a hundred of the really poor ever spend a penny on either. Law is a luxury such people do not indulge in much. They probably agree with a friend of mine, who says he would much rather be robbed than go to law. No doubt those of them who are prosperous enough to flaunt about in clothes both more voluminous and more costly than is usual with the poor coolie contribute some infinitesimal fraction to the Customs revenue; but the statement that "*a large proportion* of the land revenue," even in the ryotwari districts, "comes from the very poor agriculturists" can hardly be characterized as anything better than rhetoric. Except for the salt they are obliged to eat or die, and for want of which so many of them, I believe, do literally die, they need not contribute more than they ought in proportion to their resources, unless it is argued (as it no doubt might be) that they are too poor to be taxed at all.

Let me, in conclusion, remind you once more of some of the evils inseparable from the monopoly of a necessary of life, *no matter at what rate the tax is levied.*

As I have said all along, my chief objection to the salt tax is that we do not know how much mischief it does to the people, the cattle, and the agriculture of India—that we

are, in fact, entirely in the dark on the subject. We only know that a liberal supply of salt is even more necessary to life in the East, both for men and cattle, than it is in Europe, and we have very good reason for suspecting that the want of an abundant supply of salt may be one of the predisposing causes of the virulence of cholera, of cattle disease, and even, according to the distinguished physician who has honoured me by taking the chair to-day, of that old curse, leprosy. It is curious, at any rate, that the first appearance of cholera should have coincided with the reorganization of the Salt Department by Warren Hastings when for the first time it was put upon what was *financially* a remunerative footing. That may be only a coincidence, but many good authorities assure us that salt is a specific in cholera, and that cattle which have an unstinted supply are immune to cattle disease, whilst it is said that men employed in the salt-pans are never known to have cholera, small-pox, scarlet fever, or influenza. If it is also even possible that plague owes its virulence to a deficient supply of salt in the food of the poor, it is evident what a serious responsibility we incur by risking the lives and the health of millions for the sake of 5 or 6 millions sterling a year. It certainly does seem to me that if the salt tax is half as injurious as most people admit that it is, it ought to be abolished *at all costs*; and if it can be got rid of without the loss of a penny, and if we can at the same time get rid of that frightful army of ill-paid preventive officials who are constantly preying upon the poorest of the people, surely it ought to be abolished at once.

Sir John Strachey took great (and not undeserved) credit for the abolition of the Customs line which formerly stretched across India on account of the various salt duties in force in the north and south, though he only abolished it by raising the price of salt to some of the inhabitants, whilst lowering it to others; but as long as the preventive service exists the same evils must continue that are inseparable from Customs duties everywhere.

I cannot explain more clearly why I object to the tax itself rather than to the rate of its assessment than I did in my former paper, where I said : " Whether the tax is R. 1 or Rs. 2, a maund makes very little difference to anyone ; because, whatever the price may be, no poor coolie would ever use more than 8 or 10 lbs. a year (a wholly inadequate quantity), costing, say, from 3 to 4 annas. *But if there were no tax at all*, the same coolie would consume four or five times as much at least, and doubtless treble the quantity would be given to the cattle, whilst the amount that might be usefully employed in agriculture and manufactures is as incalculable as is the benefit that would result to the country."

It will hardly be credited in this country that I have known ryots to be prosecuted by the Salt Department for using black-cotton soil and tank mud as manure because they contained a considerable proportion of common salt.

I could quote pages to show the mischief that is done by stinting the supply of salt. The Sanitary Commission in 1880 (Dr. Furnell) said that "the great mortality among the people from diarrhoea and allied diseases arises from worms, and this disease in a great measure depends upon the ability of the people to obtain salt."

Even Dr. Ratton, the official apologist, admitted that "there was nothing to be said in favour of the tax where it exists in its worst form—as, for example, in British India—except that an alteration of the law in favour of manufacturers and farmers would purge the tax in a great measure of its objectionable character." But such provision of free salt was always found impracticable, and was hedged about with so many restrictions as to be practically useless ; so that, I have no doubt, the people continue to eat rotten fish as they did in my time, because they could not afford to buy salt to cure it properly.

It is the fashion with many Indian writers nowadays—and even with some others whose friendly interest in the country cannot be questioned—to complain at the same time of the

multiplication of railways in India, and also of the high price of salt ; yet it would be easy to show that the railways have equalized the price of salt (and other things) all over the country, and that consequently all those who live in the interior pay probably not more than half as much as it cost them in the good old days when there were neither roads nor railways, and when every 100 miles of bullock transit was calculated to double the price, and that, too, although the monopoly price has been doubled in the meantime. It is therefore not the actual price of salt that is so important : it is cheaper now for the great majority than it was when the Government price was only R. 1 a maund. The real evil is that the monopoly makes it impossible to get it, as many people would otherwise, *for nothing*, because the vexatious interference of a huge and expensive, not to say corrupt, Government department prevents anything like free trade in this necessary of life, and persecutes poor old women for distilling a little salt even for their own use.

As I said once before, we actually spend about half a million sterling every year in harassing the poorest of the poor so as to secure a gross revenue of about 6 millions sterling. I submit that this is unnecessary, because I have shown, I think, how at least five millions could easily be raised without any monopoly at all ; and, as the Finance Minister observed of the present tax, nothing could be easier than to increase the rate at which the tax was levied in case of urgent need. The great difference under my plan would be that the increase of the tax would *not* reduce the consumption of salt, and so interfere with the health of the country.

At the risk of wearying you I am tempted to draw attention to one other objectionable feature of the salt monopoly, and that is its effect on allied native States ; and I will illustrate what I mean by my own experience in that ancient independent kingdom the Tondiman Ráj. I will take the liberty of quoting from a paper which has appeared in an Indian journal probably not very well known in this country.

I must mention that when I was in Pudukota in 1874-1875, the revenue from salt—which was all earth salt—was there also a monopoly of the State, but such a very unprofitable monopoly—the profit in one year having amounted to only Rs. 445—that I strongly recommended its abolition. When, however, my lamented friend Sashiah Shastri took charge of the kingdom, he set to work with characteristic vigour to improve the management of the salt monopoly as well as other departments, and so far succeeded in improving the revenue as to secure a fairly handsome compensation from the Madras Government (Rs. 38,000 a year), when it was ultimately determined to abolish Pudukota salt altogether, and to compel it to take all its salt from the Madras Government. The result of that arrangement was that, though the Pudukota State made a (very) small fortune out of the compensation, the unfortunate people have ever since been compelled to buy Madras salt at an exorbitant price, and to keep up a costly establishment to prevent anyone in Pudukota from making a handful of earth salt even for his own use, in accordance with immemorial custom, or from developing the country by using it as manure to improve his land, or otherwise. Now, as I said at the time in my report to Government, I cannot yet see on what grounds the British Government could claim the right to interfere with the action of a quasi independent State in regard to the manufacture of an article so necessary to life as salt, even if that Government should encourage its private manufacture as much as possible. It seemed to me, then, that the prohibition of salt manufacture for private use was a measure which no civilized Government had any right to force upon a helpless allied State; and from an ethical point of view I am of the same opinion still, though it might, of course, properly insist on precautions being taken to prevent earth-salt being smuggled into the surrounding British districts. “But,” as Mr. Kamésvara Aiyar, in his most interesting life of Sashiah, tragically, if somewhat ungrammatically, observes, “the State had to bow before Imperial necessity,



and the fiat went forth 'Delenda est Pudukota sal'—a truly Imperial necessity, which, not content with destroying the health and injuring the agriculture of its own subjects, must needs compel its allies to treat their subjects with equal inhumanity by means of what the House of Commons admits to be "one of the worst taxes ever levied in the civilized world."

P.S.—Much as I object to the tax itself, it is a mistake to exaggerate its incidence as some of the newspapers do, when they say that it amounts to 4,000 per cent. on the cost price. This is certainly not true of the whole of India.

Since this paper was printed I have been assured on good authority that the lower orders eat more salt than the upper classes, because it is their only condiment. If so, they are more heavily taxed than I supposed, and my proposals would give them still greater relief.

NOTE.—This paper should be read in continuation of that published in this *Review* for October, 1893, p. 313.

---

Since this paper was written the author has received the following :

LONDON,  
July 23, 1904.

DEAR SIR,

I have read with great pleasure the report you have been good enough to send me of your paper on the Salt Tax in India, a subject which much interests me, as fifty years' experience in the salt trade of this country has often brought it directly to my notice.

No one, I think, can read in your paper, and in the discussion which followed, the references to the painful results of the Indian Salt Tax to the poorer classes of the natives—who form, as everywhere, the bulk of the community—and contrast them with the conditions existing since the total abolition of the Salt Tax (about a hundred years ago) in this country, where salt is now cheap and accessible to everyone, without deeply lamenting the state of things in India and wishing to assist in improving it; and my aim in offering these remarks is to point out the commercial and trading aspects of the question, which seem at your meeting to have escaped notice.

From this point of view the Indian Salt Tax is not exclusively an Indian question, but one which also materially affects many interests in England itself; and now that we are invited to "think imperially," it cannot be inappropriate to deal with the matter on the broader basis, and consider it in its relation to British Imperial interests. It is computed that the consumption of salt in India, with its population of 240,000,000, would soon be trebled were the duty abolished, and this calculation is to some extent supported by the fact that since the reduction in the duty on March 31 of last year the consumption has greatly increased, so that, besides the larger demand for salt manufactured in India itself, the exports from Liverpool to Calcutta, etc., for the six months to the end of June last amount to 140,000 tons, against 88,000 tons in the same period of 1903, and 82,000 tons in the same period of 1902. This extra trade benefits not only the English salt-makers, both employers and employed, and the English railways and canals engaged in transporting it to the coast, but is also a boon to the British shipowner and sailor, giving them better employment outward to the Indian ports. Nor does the advantage end there, for the larger supply of tonnage thus available to the Indian producer for the export of his rice, wheat, jute, cotton, linseed, etc., is an item of great importance to the development of the Indian export trade with other countries.

Besides this, it is obvious that the large increase in the consumption of salt in India, which it is expected would result from the abolition of the tax, would give employment to an enormous number of hands required for its distribution throughout the country, would add to the revenue of the railways and canals of India, and increase the profits derived from the salt trade by those engaged in its manufacture. When all this is taken into account, I believe the advantages accruing to the various interests enumerated above, added to the direct benefits derived by the Indian natives from the freer use of salt in their food, in the curing of fish, the preservation of meat and vegetables, the feeding of cattle, the cultivation of land, and in many other ways, would, if it were possible to express them in figures, be found to far outweigh the amount (some £6,000,000, I believe) of the revenue derived by the Indian Government from the tax.

In dealing with this subject I have taken no account of the cost of collecting the tax, the increased amount paid by the consumer in excess of the sum which finds its way to the Exchequer, as must be the case with all indirect taxation, the expense of the preventive service for the detection and punishment of smuggling, nor of the cost to the State in the sickness and suffering which all experience tells us is the inevitable result of an insufficient use of salt as an article of diet. The total amount in money value of all these, however, must be very considerable.

In conclusion, I cannot help thinking that if a conference were called in this country of all parties interested in the subject—the salt trade, the shipping interest, and the various societies and individuals who desire to better the condition of our fellow-subjects in India—some good might result, especially if a deputation could approach Lord Curzon on the matter while he is in England. He has shown by his sympathetic remarks

and by his reduction of the tax that he is amenable to representations such as I have tried to set forth, and I cannot help feeling that if he could see his way to crown his Indian career by a total abolition of this terrible tax he would rank in the opinion of posterity among the greatest and wisest benefactors of the Indian people who have filled the post he occupies.

I remain, dear sir, yours truly,

J. W. Fox

(Late Managing Director Weston and Westall, Ltd.,  
London agents to the Salt Union).

J. B. PENNINGTON, ESQ.,

YARMOUTH,

ISLE OF WIGHT.

## "SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA."\*

BY A. ROGERS,  
Late Bombay Civil Service.

THE views of Mr. Iyer as expressed in his work are as a whole fairly and moderately given, with certain exceptions which we purpose to examine in this article, as it is very advisable that the opinions of educated natives of India on controversial subjects bearing on the administration of the country under British rule should be laid before the English public, and where necessary controverted. The work embraces a wide range of subjects, from the wages of the day-labourer to the foreign and domestic trade of the country.

The first chapter is a reproduction, with slight changes of the author's address as President of the Provincial Conference held at Cocanada in 1902 : it contains a résumé of the present economic situation in India, and commences with a pessimistic view of the results of recent famines, which are said to be increasing in their frequency. Now, it is an acknowledged fact that the country is liable to visitations of famine in various regions in consequence of its peculiar geographical and climatic situation, but there is no proof that those visitations are more frequent now than in former days. It is true that there is more talk about them, on account of the greater publicity given to their circumstances through increased facilities of intercommunication between different parts of the country, and the great spread of journalism in recent times, which has taken the place of the imperfect records of former days, and to some extent, owing to the greediness for news, has created a tendency to exaggerate into famine areas local failures of crops which would have remained unnoticed and unrecorded in the annals of the olden days. Famine, properly so

\* By G. Subramania Iyer, B.A. The Swadesamitran Press, 117, Armenian Street, Madras, 1903.

called—that is to say, an actual dearth of food—as shown by recent experience, has ceased to exist ; for there was no part of the land into which grain was not conveyed by railways of recent construction, had the people had the means to purchase it with. This supply, moreover, was produced in the country itself, a point which we shall have to notice again in the course of this article.

There can be no doubt of the loss accruing to the State as well as individuals from recent famines ; but so great is India's recuperative power that their effects are already rapidly disappearing, and we have every confidence will soon disappear altogether with the fairly prosperous seasons we may look forward to. Whatever truth there may be in the blame imputed to the Government for not having made the most of the opportunities afforded by the physical configuration of the country to create storage works for irrigation, if these had been made use of to their fullest extent not one-tenth of the land would have been thoroughly protected against famine, so that the *ultima ratio* of the productiveness of the country must always depend on natural causes. The author traces the root of the evil of the whole economic condition of India to the extreme, not to say hopeless, poverty of the agricultural classes, who form more than three-fourths of the population. This is to a certain extent true, but the question before us is, Is that poverty due more or less to the action of the British Government ? Is it not a fact that the agriculturists of India are, as a rule, very poor, have always been poor, and always will be so ? The proof that this is not due to British rule lies in this, that there are many people who enjoy large areas of land entirely free from liability to assessment to the State land revenue, and have been in such enjoyment ever since the days of native rule, and who, as a rule, are even poorer than the ordinary *rayats*.

There is, we admit, one reason why the poverty of the agricultural classes should apparently be more marked than

it formerly was, and that is that our system of civil jurisprudence forces their affairs more prominently into public notice than in former times, or even than at present in Native States outside British law. The settlement of private debts in these was and is mostly in the hands of the parties themselves, and not in those of public courts of justice. In a Native State where there are no such courts, the remedy for a money-lender to recover his dues is not to lend at all without adequate security given beforehand in the shape of personal ornaments or the mortgage of other personal or real property. Knowing that they could recover their debts through the courts, money-lenders in British territory formerly lent money without collateral security, but when the new Indian Limitation Act was passed in 1871, and the period within which suits for ordinary current debts could be filed in court for such recovery was reduced from twelve to three years, money-lenders were forced into suing or exacting more stringent terms from their debtors. Having thus got them into their power, the lenders made use of that power to draw the bonds tighter and tighter round them, till the result has been the extreme state of poverty the author has described. That poverty is not in reality much greater than it formerly was, but it has come more to the surface. We have never approved of the Act referred to, breaking, as it did in the case of the agricultural classes, through the immemorial custom of the country in the matter of their money-dealings, and now the fear is that, unless agricultural banks can fill the place of the money-lenders, agriculture itself may suffer from the want of the small supply of capital the employment must always require. In noticing the report of the Deccan Riots Commission, the author is wrong in stating that they mentioned the revenue system as one of the causes, not of the indebtedness, but of the outbreak against the money-lenders, which took place in 1875—*only four years after the passing of the Act*—for their report distinctly stated that no fault was found with the assess-

ment, which was in reality almost nominal, and generally easily payable out of the proceeds of the millet straw produced by their fields, even when the grain did not ripen. We look on vague statements, such as those of Sir J. Strachey and others quoted by the author—that is to say, of men not acquainted personally with the state of affairs—as entirely unreliable, nor is it reasonable for our author to make such sweeping statements as that in India millions of people have to be content with a farthing a day. They are indeed self-contradictory, for the race would not even remain in existence if such were really the case.

In order to show still further the bias of the author in his strictures on the administration, one need only look at the figures given in making out that taxation has been unreasonably increased since 1886, and in endeavouring to show there has been an excessive enhancement. The first item is that of Rs. 1,800,000 on account of income-tax; this hardly affects the agriculturists, or three-fourths of the population, at all. Rs. 155,000, the duty on petroleum, may possibly affect 100,000 households who use it; the great bulk of the remaining 200 millions or so still use castor-oil for their lamps. Rs. 100,000, increased duty on imported spirits, may affect a few thousand Europeans and no natives at all. Rs. 50,000, increase of Kohat salt duty, can only be said to affect the people of a comparatively small district, as does also the reimposition of the Patwari Cess in the North-Western Provinces. Leaving these out of consideration, there remain the enhancement of the salt duty, Rs. 1,600,000 (part of which was remitted last year), Rs. 1,600,000 in general import duties, and Rs. 900,000, the import duty on cotton, a total of Rs. 4,200,000, which can in any way be said to affect the general population of the country, or to have increased its burden of taxation since 1886, or eighteen years ago, even if we put the whole increase down as an extra burden on the backs of the taxpayers. To say that they will soon pay practically 21 crores as the result of the currency

reform is simply contrary to fact, and absurd. This topic is touched upon farther on in the book, and its fallacy may as well be explained in this place before going on. What, then, was the currency reform of 1893?

When a large increase in the world's output of silver took place, the value of silver as compared with gold began to fall rapidly, and accordingly to lower greatly the rate of exchange at which home remittances out of the silver currency of India could be made. If this fall were not to be arrested, a large amount of extra taxation, computed at £6,000,000, if not more, would have to be imposed on India. A Royal Commission appointed to consider the subject recommended that an artificial scarcity of coined silver rupees should be created by closing the Indian mints, which had hitherto been open to all on the payment of mintage dues. The supply of rupees being thus reduced, it became worth the while of merchants trading with India to pay more than their intrinsic value as metal up to the limit, when the cost of sending out bullion to meet the requirements of the trade would come into competition with the method of remittance by Government bills on the Indian treasuries. This limit was ascertained to be about 1s. 4d. the rupee, and it was determined to diminish the number of rupees available until the rate of exchange was forced up to about that amount; and this has accordingly been done, and the exchange value of the rupee has steadied down to that, or about that, amount. Now, who has paid for this? Certainly the English merchant trading with India, who has found it worth his while to do so out of the difference between the cost of remitting by Treasury bills and that of sending what he had to pay in bullion. We need not here dilate on the good done by putting the trade on a sufficiently stable basis, instead of allowing the whole of it to degenerate into a species of gambling, when no one knew for a day what the intrinsic value of the coin might fall or rise to. At all events, the void in the Indian Exchequer was thus filled,



and the burden of extra taxation, which would otherwise have become necessary, was saved. On what grounds does the author try to make out that the Indian taxpayer will before long have to bear the burden of 21 crores more than now? It has been conclusively shown above that the currency reform hitherto has been paid for by the European import merchant, and that no extra taxation has either been imposed on the Indian taxpayer in consequence, or will be in future.

In the third chapter of the book, the author, in advocating the cause of the extension of other industrial pursuits in India beside that of agriculture, a subject on which we entirely agree with him, gives his opinion that India's exports of agricultural produce are not exports of her surplus stock. He can only mean that what is exported, inclusive of cotton and other raw material, ought to be consumed in the country if other industrial pursuits were properly fostered and developed. This is no doubt partially true, but India at the present day is not prepared to consume either all the grain she produces or the raw material which goes to feed foreign manufactories, and it would be a simple waste that these should remain unutilized. It was proved in the last famines that there were more than ample food-stuffs in the country for the consumption of its own population, and in that of 1877-1878 in Madras that imports of such from abroad were wasted, for large quantities of what was brought in from oversea at that time rotted on the beach. We consequently cannot admit the statement that, if the wheat and rice exported were to remain in India, the poorer classes, who now consume less than 2 pounds of flour per day, might be able to get  $2\frac{1}{2}$  pounds. They would not be able to do so if they could not pay for it, and if not exported the extra produce would be wasted, to the injury of the country. The extra money brought into India in payment for such exports would in the meanwhile add to the stock of wealth in it, and assist towards developing those industries which

might eventually absorb the surplus, an end towards the attainment of which Sir M. M. Bhownaggee has done yeoman service in his advocacy of technical education and the encouragement of local industries. All power to his elbow while he continues to peg away at the subject, thus following up the enormous strides that have been made in Bombay and other places by the development, partly with the aid of native capital, of such industries as cotton-spinning and weaving factories, jute-mills, etc., and the establishment of educational institutions, such as the Victoria Institute and the Technical College about to be started at Bangalore by Mr. Jamsetji N. Tata.\* The programme of suggested progress in this direction, drawn up by the author at the conclusion of Chapter III. for the encouragement of such enterprises, is worthy of attention, the only difficulty in the matter likely to arise being the want of money wherewith to carry out the various projects. It has to be remembered that the purse of the Government of India, the opening of which is watched by the Argus-like eyes of the author and his kind, is not bottomless.

In Chapter IV. the subject of the protection of Indian industry, one of prominent importance to the country on the eve of possible important modifications of England's fiscal policy, is enlarged upon. We do not share the author's pessimistic view of the hopelessness of the contest that may arise between India and England in the matter of Free Trade, that the latter with its enormous resources and political power must carry the day, and its interests prevail over those of its helpless dependency. We have sufficient confidence in the fair dealing of the British Parliament and the British people to believe that where the interests of the two countries clash some *via media* by which they may be reconciled will be discovered. For the

\* While on the subject, we desire to point out a stupid misprint on page 94, by which Ranchhorlal Chhotalal of Ahmedabad figures as Rambootlal.

present, at all events, the policy that has been announced is not one of absolute Free Trade, but of facility for retaliation against foreign countries that injure British trade by adverse tariffs, and that is all that is sought for. For the rest we must await events, in sure confidence that the British nation will see that injury to India, its own dependency, must result in injury to itself. It is absurd to say that to carry away all the grain-stuff and all the raw materials that can possibly be carried away, to thrust her own articles of use and luxury on the Indian people, and to provide every facility for this at their expense, is the policy of England. Are Germany France, and other nations, not free to send similar imports to India, and is it not in the power of the Indians themselves to put a stop to the trade by refusing to purchase such articles?

Chapter V., on exploitation of India by foreign capital, contains several fallacies that it is advisable to expose. There can be no doubt that there is a large amount of buried capital in India; whether this is 825 crores or more it is futile to try to estimate. But according to our author the British Government, in order that British capital may pour into India, have changed the currency of the country, taking the money from the pocket of the Indian producer and putting it into that of the British merchant; this, by-the-by, looks more like sending capital out than pouring it in. In order that these merchants and the army of British officials with which India is burdened may make more money at the expense of the Indians, these latter have been taxed additionally, he continues, in consequence of the currency policy, to the extent of many crores, differently computed. Now, we have shown above that the expense of the change of currency policy has not only been borne by the British merchant, and not the Indian taxpayer, but the latter has thus been saved from heavy extra taxation that would otherwise have been necessary to meet the increased remittances to England the fall in the value of silver was causing the Indian treasury.

In the same pessimistic strain, without any attempt at proof, and but his own *ipse dixit* to fall back upon, it is asserted that the Indian labourer is undergoing rapid physical deterioration, that the Indian people are being reduced to the lot of a race of coolies under white masters, whose labour, the British capitalist is beginning to see, is not in the long-run so cheap as is imagined, and for whom it is not worth his while to manufacture the cheap trumpery things that alone he can afford to buy. Lord Curzon's policy is said to be unsound—further on it is pronounced to have no support whatever in righteousness or humanity—mere international robbery made possible and justified by brute force, because he has said that, if the man who lives on the spot will not cultivate his land with his own spade, he has no right to blame the outsider who enters it with his plough. Moreover, he continues, if capital is free as air to blow as it listeth, why do the British colonials take up an attitude of barbarous antipathy against Indian immigration? This is easily answered: "Because trade-unionism, much to the disapproval of general British sentiment that such freedom ought not to be interfered with, desires to keep the field entirely to itself." India is a great storehouse of cheap labour for the whole Anglo-Saxon race; in order to enable it to produce raw stuff in the cheapest manner possible, and produce it in sufficient quantity, British rule will leave no stone unturned. And so on, and so on. Could not Mr. G. Subramania Iyer see that the very extravagance of his language would have no other effect than to make the British public mistrust his assertions and arguments altogether? He himself, acknowledging that Indians are unable for the moment to exploit such undertakings as the Colar mines, would have capital wait till they are ready, and in the meantime India's own money, saved up by those who have plundered it (!), must be allowed to add insult to the injury by its further employment in increasingly exploiting its resources. We close our notice of this part of the subject by quoting the

author's astounding assertion that the freedom of the people of India is illusory, and that they, as poor, backward, and neglected, cannot compete on equal terms with, and are helpless before, their Western rivals.

With regard to the hoarded wealth of the country, which in every sensible man's opinion would benefit India far better by being circulated and utilized than by being buried, it is said to be very hard that such a vast possession of the bulk of the population should be arbitrarily depreciated in value on account of the currency policy of the Government. Now, we maintain, in spite of what Mr. David Yule and others may have said, that the value of the rupee has not been depreciated, and that it is only when it is sent out of the country and weighed against gold that such depreciation is apparent. It is admitted that for the purchase of Indian goods the rupee is still the rupee, and will buy as much as ever. What is more pertinent to the case of the *rayat*, who is said to be obliged to resort more frequently to the money-lender in consequence of that policy, it may be pointed out that, even if it were true that the rupee has been depreciated, the land revenue of the State, to meet which he would have to borrow, is still payable in such depreciated coin, and he is therefore at no loss. But towards the end of his remarks on the subject a ray of light involuntarily breaks in. The old habit of hoarding is giving way, investments in the Post-Office Savings Banks are increasing, and Indian capitalists are coming forward to an increasing extent to invest their savings in remunerative industries, and the author is of opinion that the establishment of Agricultural Banks, for which the Government of India are even now legislating, will prove successful in bringing out the latent capital of the people, as the similar *nidhis* in Madras are already doing. If the real reason for the prevalent habit of hoarding is sought for, it lies in the suspicion engendered in the minds of the people by centuries of oppression under native rule, which is being slowly cleared away by the

contemplation of British justice and the enlightenment of education.

The chapter on the organization of Indian credit brings forward nothing worthy of prolonged notice with the exception of the above-made remark on the suspiciousness of the native character. Those relating to how India's foreign trade is financed, artisans, the day and agricultural labourers' wages, Free Trade and labour, railways, when India should borrow, and its foreign trade at various epochs, are mostly descriptive, and need not occupy much of our attention, except to say that the hardships endured by coolies in tea-gardens, mines, and other industrial occupations, will, if they exist to any extent for which the people have not principally to thank themselves, tend to cure themselves through the coolies not seeking such occupations. As an instance of this, we may quote the system of compulsory marriage, noticed by the author himself as one of the greatest curses of India from an economic point of view. The only remedy recommended for the state of affairs is a rise in the rate of wages, which, as long as the religious maxims that lie at the root of this and other customs are still in force, would probably intensify rather than mitigate the evil.

The author is eloquent on the killing out of native industries, especially that of weaving, and on their being supplanted by the annihilation of distance by railways and the substitution of machinery for hand-labour; but do not the advantages of the former counterbalance its disadvantages in hundreds of ways, and did not the introduction of machinery in substitution for hand-labour have a similar result in England, as elsewhere, to the benefit of the world in general? He may call it industrial vandalism on the part of Great Britain, or what he likes, but the progress of the world is a necessity he cannot expect to see retarded out of compassion for the sufferings of the few who are crushed under the wheels of the Juggernath car of irresistible advancement. He admits that the great cities of Calcutta and Bombay would have had no existence if it

had not been for British capital and energy. Could Delhi, which he would have had substituted for them, have taken their place in the development of India, notwithstanding its splendid buildings and admirable architecture?

With regard to railways, by whom was it ever expected that they would have prevented famines, except in the sense that they would enable food to be sent to all parts of the country that were previously inaccessible to it, and has not this been their undoubted result? Mr. Horace Bell is quoted as maintaining that railway construction has been overdone, and that if the large sum of 1,520 lakhs of rupees is available for public works, it should be spent on the extension of irrigation, or, better still, in improving agriculture by arranging to supply the *rayats* with suitable manure for their wheat-fields. A large portion of the money is being annually set aside for the improvement of irrigation, and the manure that will benefit the wheat-fields in the black soil in which it is mostly raised more than the nitrates stored in the soil by Nature has yet to be discovered. It is a mere assertion to say that the average yield can be doubled and trebled by manuring. The general trustworthiness of Mr. Horace Bell's opinion may be gauged by his vision that he sees nothing but ruin staring India in the face from the nature of its export trade, and his idea that it would be the best thing that could happen in the interests of the *rayats* of the North-West Provinces, Oudh, and Behar, if the export trade in wheat were checked by a heavy duty. No reason for this is given. Nor was Mr. W. P. Thornton, whose article in the *Westminster Gazette* in 1880 is quoted with approval, gifted with political or economical foresight in saying that the drain of India's tribute to England was the burden, since done away with by the adoption of the new currency policy, which would break the Indian camel's back. The author's economical fallacy that the poor would get more to eat if grain were not allowed to be exported has been controverted above. To his idea that it would be better for

India to borrow at home than in England or elsewhere, we have only the one objection, that it would tend to increase the cost of exchange by diminishing the means of remittance to India through its own treasury.

There have yet to be noticed the author's remarks in Chapter XX. on Mr. Chamberlain's fiscal policy and India, which, as shown above, does not amount to the complete adoption of Free Trade, but only to recovering the right to retaliate by means of adverse tariffs against other nations that injure our trade by imposing heavy duties on British imports. It is true that preferential duties granted to Indian imports by Great Britain could hardly benefit India, because there are but few articles of Indian manufacture sent there, the only ones we can call to mind at present being indigo, tea, coffee, and a small amount of silverware made in Kashmir and Kutch. Of these, the first might be benefited by the imposition of heavy duty on the importation of synthetic or manufactured indigo sent by Germany, but the trade in the remaining three is practically a monopoly in the hands of Indian traders. The result of taxing Russian petroleum in India appears to have been that Russia has placed extra duty on Indian tea imported. Altogether the problem is very difficult to solve, and we prefer not to give a decided opinion on the subject until the Government scheme, based on Mr. Chamberlain's proposals, is fully disclosed, for at one point or another any Indian project must clash with those of either the colonies or Great Britain herself. One point is certain, viz., that the raw produce sent home from India will not be taxed, and the interests of that country will not be made subservient to those of the colonies or any other land. But none the less can we not agree to the proposed policy of prohibiting the export of agricultural produce from India with the idea that it would enable her people to get more food to eat, for the price of it would be regulated by the prices obtainable in the general markets of the world.



The value of the exports from, and imports into, India as signs of the prosperity or otherwise of the country is not a question that affects the main question discussed in this article, which more particularly concerns that of its method of administration under British rule, attacked in Mr. G. S. Iyer's book. It requires separate study, and we agree with him that it is not one on which a decided opinion can be given offhand in any confident way, nor are the opinions of the eminent men of former days on the condition and prospects of the country of any use to us in the changed circumstances of the present time : the last of those quoted was dated more than half a century ago.

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

SINCE the publication of the last "Quarterly Report" in the issue of this Review of January, 1904, the Proceedings of the Thirteenth International Congress of Orientalists have been published.\* It was promised that this volume would appear six months after the Congress, and for that reason it had been decided only to publish a summary of the work done. It now only appears after a delay of two years. It was hardly worth the trouble to come to such a serious decision without doing better than the previous Congresses. This volume of summaries is of very little interest, some of the papers being reduced (the privileged ones) to several pages, and others to one or two pages, some even only to half or a third of a page. Papers thus reduced possess no interest. Many of the Congressists, and amongst others and not the least Mr. Basset of Algiers, for instance, have preferred that their important communications should not appear in these proceedings, and they were quite right.

We also learn with pleasure the decision of the Organizing Committee of the Fourteenth Congress, which will be held in Algiers in April, 1905, that in the event of the Congress of Algiers supporting the decision taken at Hamburg—namely, to publish merely a summary of the work done—the Committee will publish the proceedings *in extenso*. Arrangements for a complete publication have already been made.

The fourteenth volume of the "Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche" (third edition)† by Hauck includes several important articles on Orientalism, Sacrifices in the Old Testament, and Easter (Von Orelli), Ophir (Guthe), etc.

We notice the twenty-third and twenty-fourth fascicules of the "Dictionnaire de la Bible,"‡ published under the direction of the Abbé Vigouroux. These contain articles under *L—Lit—Mananéh (Dan)*. Amongst them may be mentioned that on the *Versions latines de la Bible antérieures à St. Jérôme*, and on *Lachish* (Tell el-Hésiy), etc.

The "Table générale de la Revue de l'Histoire des Religions" has also appeared.§ It includes the years 1880-1901, viz., volumes 1 to 44. This table of a review, very valuable for Orientalism, will prove of great service.

Under the title of "Mélanges religieux et historiques," seventeen articles

\* "Verhandlungen des XIII. internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses." Hamburg, September, 1902; Leiden, Brill, 1904.

† Leipzig, 1904.

‡ Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1904.

§ Paris: Leroux, 1904.

by Renan, which have appeared in several journals, reviews, and collections, have been published in one volume.\*

The very remarkable and scholarly "Manuel d'Histoire des Religions," by Chantepie de la Saussaye (last edition), has been translated into French by Messrs. H. Hubert and I. Levy.† This translation is excellent, and the translators have rendered a great service to readers by completing the bibliography.

The German translation by Gehrich‡ of Tiele's "Histoire de la Religion dans l'Antiquité" (second volume, second part, treating of the religion of the Iranian peoples) is now completed. The translator has benefited the scientific public by putting within their reach this work of the eminent Dutch master.

To Achelis is due a handbook essay in a very abridged form of the Science of Religions. This essay bears the title of "Abriss der vergleichenden Religionswissenschaft."§

Jean du Buy, teacher of Comparative Religion (Clark University), has published a study inspired with a broad religious spirit, and which is well worth reading, under the title of "Stages of Religious Development."|| The work contains a comparison of the religion of Jesus Christ with the four great non-Christian religions: Islamism, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Vedanta philosophy, the best representative of Brahminism, whose highest consummation it is.

The remarkable work by S. I. Curtiss, entitled "Primitive Semitic Religion To-day,"¶ has been translated into German,\*\* with a preface by Baudissin. Although we have many objections to the arguments of the author, and also to the main point of the work,†† we cannot but recommend the book of Curtiss, so full of facts and observations.

Under the title of "Beiträge zur semitischen Sprachwissenschaft,"‡‡ Nöldeke has collected several learned articles on Semitic philology, some old, others new, but all retouched and revised—classical Arabic and Arabic dialects; the verbs "ו" in Hebrew; the formation of the plural from the noun in Aramean; several groups of proper scientific nouns (names of animals, theophanic names, etc.); names of the letters in the Semitic alphabet, etc. All this is of the greatest interest. It is to be hoped that all authors will collect in volume form their notes and articles scattered in the reviews.

\* Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1904.

† Paris: Colin, 1904.

‡ "Geschichte der Religion im Alterthume bis auf Alexander den Grossen." Gotha: Perthes, 1903.

§ Leipzig: Göschen, 1904.

|| Reprinted from the *American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education*. Worcester, Mass., May, 1904.

¶ Chicago, 1902.

\*\* "Ursemitische Religion im Volksleben des heutigen Orients," mit 57 Abbild. und 2 Karten. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.

†† *Vide* my detailed report and criticism on this work in the *Review of the History of Religions* in 1904.

‡‡ Strassburg: Trübner, 1904.

ASSYRIOLOGY, SEMITIC INSCRIPTIONS, ETC., AND THE OLD TESTAMENT.

Scheil has had the honour of being the first to give us a translation of "La Loi de Hammourabi."\* This translation is excellent.

In the compilation of Heyck ("Monographien zur Weltgeschichte"), Bezold has published an interesting monograph, accompanied by very fine illustrations, on Nineveh and Babylon.†

The compilation "Der alte Orient," published by the *Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, has been enriched by two fascicules full of interest; one is by Weiszbach ("Das Stadtbild von Babylon"), and the other by Winckler ("Histoire de la ville de Babylon").‡

The question *Babel-Bibel*, raised by Delitzsch's lectures, continues to give rise to interesting works, amongst which may be mentioned that of Zimmern on cuneiform inscriptions and the Bible, according to their religious and historical testimony,§ and that of Bezold on cuneiform inscriptions and their importance in regard to the Old Testament.||

Alfred Jeremias has produced, in handbook form, a book on Biblical archaeology which will prove extremely useful. It is entitled "The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East."¶ A large number of illustrations from the monuments accompany the work, which is of a purely scientific character.

Professor Bruston has continued the publication of his interesting Phœnician studies (second series, 1904), which appeared last year under the title of "Études phéniciennes suivies de l'Inscription de Siloé."\*\*\*

A. Löwy has endeavoured to prove the non-authenticity of the stela of Mesa: "A Critical Examination of the so-called Moabite Inscription in the Louvre."†† The tract is interesting, and deserves to be read, but I cannot say that the author has convinced me.

HISTORY OF THE PEOPLE AND RELIGION OF ISRAEL.

A fifth edition of the "Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte," by Wellhausen, to which too much praise cannot be given, has appeared.‡‡

Spiegelberg has published a well-written and very interesting pamphlet on the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt in the light of Egyptian monuments.§§ In the celebrated stela so-called of Israel, he considers as per-

\* Paris: Leroux, 1904.

† "Ninive und Babylon," 2<sup>te</sup> erweiterte Auflage. Bielefeld und Leipzig: Velhagen und Klasing, 1903.

‡ Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904.

§ "Keilinschriften und Bibel." Berlin: Reuther und Reichard, 1903.

|| "Die babyl.-assy. Keilinschriften und ihre Bedeutung für das Alte Testament." Tübingen und Leipzig: Mohr, 1904.

¶ "Das Alte Testamente im lichte des alten Orients," mit 145 Abbildungen und 2 Karten. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904.

\*\*\* Paris: Fischbacher, 1903.

†† Third issue, revised and amended. London, 1903. Printed for private circulation

‡‡ Berlin: Reimer, 1904.

§§ "Der Aufenthalt Israels in Egypten," mit 12 Abbild. und 2 Aufl. Strassburg: Schlesier und Schweikhard, 1904.

fectly certain the reading of the word *Israel*: "The tribe of Israel is made desolate, without fruits in the field; Palestine has become a widow to Egypt," etc.

I may point out in "Teyler's Theologisch Tijdschrift" (third part, 1904), an interesting article by Houtsma, "De Senaat van Jeruzalem en het groote Sanhedrin" (The Senate of Jerusalem and the Great Sanhedrin).

Madame Sargenton Galichon has written an account of a journey in the peninsula of Sinai and amongst the Nabateans.\* A keen sense of the Oriental nature, accuracy of style in the portraiture of scenery, sincerity, emotion, enthusiasm, and finally erudition—such are the chief features of this elegant publication, which is enriched by photographs and two maps.

H. Trabaud has presented to the University of Lausanne, for the doctorship of theology, a remarkable thesis on "La Loi mosaïque, ses origines et son développement, son rôle dans le Judaïsme et le Christianisme primitif."† It is an excellent scientific work.

The great influence which Greek philosophy exercised over Israel and Judaism has produced a new publication by Friedländer, "Greek Philosophy in the Old Testament."‡ The author studies successively in this volume the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Koheleth, Sirach, Pseudo-Salomo, Jonas and Ruth, seeking in these writings traces which Greek philosophy and character have left there.

In a volume of much interest P. Volz expounds on Jewish Eschatology from Daniel to Akiba.§ The work is divided into three parts: (1) Critical examination of eschatological literature from Daniel down to Akiba; (2) development and evolution of eschatological conceptions during the period from Daniel to Akiba; (3) eschatological acts and states (later times, the Messiah, the judgment, etc.).

"The Israelites, do they believe in a Future Life?"|| Such is the title of a very interesting and authoritative article published by A. Lods in the *Revue chrétienne*, and printed separately. The most original portion of this work refers to ancient times. The author professes to have found traces of two groups of beliefs closely united: in one, the belief of a conscious and active survival of the dead, in the grave or in the Scheol; and in the other, the observance and the belief in the worship of ancestors. Later on, the prophets, with their moral monotheism, did away for ever with the primitive belief in the ancestors (Elohim), and on this *tabula rasa* was built during the later times of Israel the belief, properly speaking, in the future life.

\* "Sinaï, Ma'ân, Petra, su les traces d'Israel et chez les Nabatéens." Paris: Lecoq, 1904.

† Lausanne: Rouge, 1903.

‡ "Griechische Philosophie im alten Testament: Einleitung in die Weisheitsliteratur." Berlin: Reimer, 1904.

§ "Jüdische Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba." Tübingen und Leipzig: Mohr, 1903.

|| Dole: Girardi et Audebert, 1904.

EXEGESIS AND THEOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

The "Études bibliques"\* of the Abbé Loisy includes several interesting chapters on the Old Testament: the first eleven chapters of Genesis with respect to the work of Ryle. "The Early Narratives of Genesis,"† Catholic opinion on the origin of the Pentateuch, etc.

On the subject of the Old Testament there are two valuable works to be mentioned, one by P. Zapletal on the story of the Creation in Genesis (i. 1 to ii. 3), explained according to the most recent discoveries;‡ the other by Arthur S. Peake on "The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament."§

Two valuable theses of doctorship, "Inaugural Dissertation on Philosophy," are announced, one at Zurich and the other at Berne. The first is by Gasser on the Book of Proverbs, and the wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach, in their relations and essential differences, from an historical and critical point of view.|| The second is by H. Preiswerk upon the problem of the two languages in the Book of Daniel.¶ The author considers that the Book of Daniel as having been made up and resulting from two different traditions. One of these traditions, which includes some reminiscences of the captivity of Babylon, was current amongst the people, and in consequence was in an Aramean form. This supplied the material for chapters i. to vii. The second of these traditions was shaped amongst the Babylonian exiles. It is a pious and edifying tradition which believes that notwithstanding the humiliation of Israel, God will establish His kingdom in the whole world and deliver His people. It is this second tradition which is connected with the old prophets, and is both of a secret and sacred character, and on that account expressed and preserved in Hebrew, the language of the ancestors, which supplies the material of chapters viii. to xii.

The collection of "The Sacred Books of the Old Testament printed in Colours," by Haupt, has been enlarged by the addition of a bulky volume of over 300 pages, "The Book of Kings," with notes by Stade and Schwally.\*\* This is a superb critical edition of the Book of Kings. We most strongly object to the employment of colours, which obscure more than they illuminate the text.

Several commentaries on the Old Testament are to be recommended: "Isaiah," by Marti,†† an excellent exegetic work; the "Minor Prophets," by Nowack."‡‡ Marti distinguishes very clearly three Isaiahs—Isaiah the prophet of the eighth century, the Deutero-Isaiah (chapters xl. to lv.), the sixth-century prophet; and the Trito-Isaiah (chapters lvi. to lxvi.), the prophet

\* Third edition, revised and enlarged. Paris: Picard, 1903.

† London: Macmillan, 1892.

‡ Translated from the German. Geneva: Kündig, 1904.

§ London: R. Bryant and C. H. Kelly, 1904.

|| "Das althebräische Spruchbuch und die Sprüche Jesu ben Sira." Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1903.

¶ "Der Sprachenwechsel im Buche Daniel." Berne, 1903.

\*\* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904.

†† "Das Buch Jesaja." Tübingen, Freiburg i-B. und Leipzig, 1900.

‡‡ "Die Kleinen Propheten." Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1904.

of the middle of the fifth century. Nowack places Joel at a period later than the Exile. As to the second part of Zachariah (chapters ix. to xiv.), he is under the impression that chapters ix. and x. belong to the Greek period of the history of Israel rather than to that preceding the Exile (Bleek, Schrader, Kuenen, etc.). Chapters xi. 4-17 and xiii. 7-9 appear to him impossible to be settled as regards the age. However, chapters xii., xiii. 6, confirm incontestably as belonging to the epoch after the Exile, and chapter xiv. was composed entirely during the latter time of the Exile.

Among the commentaries we may particularly point to that of H. Holzinger on the Book of Numbers ("Numeri erklärt, Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum A. T. von Marti"\*) for its great merit as well as for an important question which it raises.

In chapter xxi. 17-18 is found the interesting text, which we repeat exactly as the Masoretic tradition has preserved it to us :

עלי באר ענולה : באר חפרוה שרים  
כרוה נדיבי העם במחקק במשענתם

"Spring up, Well ! sing in its honour. O Well, Princes have dug it, nobles of the people have bored it, with the sceptre, with their staves !"

This fragment, very old in character, is found intercalated like a song (שירה) in the list of stations of the desert regions on the east of the Dead Sea, between Beer (well, spring), with respect to which it is quoted, and Mattânâh, if Mattânâh is the name of a place, or if there was not a place so named, besides Beer and Nakhaliel.

The fact that this poetical piece, which has been called "The Song of the Spring," was intercalated by the writer whilst describing an account of a journey across the desert ; this other fact, which the existence, or in the words of the text, the sinking of a well and the discovery of a spring in the desert, were there celebrated and sung ; in short, the knowledge we have of analogous songs which Arab tradition has preserved to us ; these three circumstances combined have rendered the piece worth being studied very closely, and with all the resources which Biblical and Oriental science can furnish, by masters of Hebraism and Orientalism.

Several solutions of the problem raised by the text have been proposed, but there is one of particular interest, and which appears to us sufficiently established ; it is the one put forth by Budde ("Actes du dixième Congrès international des Orientalistes de Genève," iii., pp. 13-23 ; Leide, 1896), and supported, amongst others, by Goldziher ("Abhandlungen zur arabischen Philologie," 1<sup>er</sup> Theil, Leiden, 1896, p. 58), Paterson ("The Book of Numbers," p. 54 : "The Old Testament printed in Colours under the direction of P. Haupt"; Leipzig, 1900), etc. Budde proposes to restore the text under its ancient metrical but mutilated form as follows :

Spring up, O Well ! Sing in its honour :  
O Well, princes have dug it,  
The nobles of the people have bored it,  
With the sceptre, with their staves !  
Gift of the desert !

\* Tübingen und Leipzig : Mohr, 1903.

The pretended geographical mention, "and from the desert to Mattânâh," would form part of the poetry; the וּמִמְדָּבָר would be connected at the end of the preceding word.

That these verses in rhyme in *â*, or, if preferred, this prose in rhyme in the gender of the Arabic *sadj*, appear to us in the shape of a mutilated text, is beyond doubt. The first verse, with its two hemistichs, seems to be incomplete; one or more words are missing. On the other hand, the rhymes in *â* appear to be badly placed or misplaced.

That which possesses the greatest interest in this ancient song (and we believe that Holzinger has not appreciated at their right value the arguments put forward in favour of the thesis we uphold) is the mention of "sceptres" and "staves," the insignia of princely authority; this leads us to believe that we have here a kind of song of ordinary use on the discovery of a spring, or in the event of sinking a well in the desert, by the nomads of the east of Jordan. When they sunk a new well and found the precious water, they struck up this chant, which signified "A new spring has spouted out, a new well has been sunk; the princes, the chiefs of the people, have solemnly taken possession!" Holzinger objects to see it in this light, that people do not sink a well with a sceptre. It is here, we believe, that the learned savant has not understood the signification of the reasoning which he raises. The sceptre of the text is like the silver gilt trowel and the hammer of gold or silver which serves for an emperor, a king, or president of a republic in laying the foundation-stone of a building. These implements of inauguration and of state are of a symbolic character, and such are the sceptre and the staves in the text in question.

#### TALMUDICAL AND RABBINICAL LITERATURE—SYRIAC.

"Der Babylonische Talmud," text and translation by L. Goldschmidt, has been enriched by another fascicule (vol. vi., part 1), including the first part of the celebrated treatise בְּבֵא קָמָא (*die erste Pforte*).\* Some time ago the seventh volume was completed by the publication of part 8, which appeared at the end of 1903, and contains, besides the treatises "Horajoth," "Edijoth," and "Aboth," tables and titles.

Strack has published in the "Schriften des Institutum Judaicum" in Berlin the treatise of the Mischna "Joma."† The notes and a vocabulary added to the text render good service to all who are desirous of studying Mischna.

The "XI Jahresbericht der Israelitisch theologischen Lehranstalt in Wien"‡ for the academic year 1903-1904 has published the text (critical edition by M. Friedmann) of the "Pseudo-Seder Eliahu zuta (derech Ereç und Pirkê R. Eliezer)," according to the "Editio princeps des Seder Eliahu" (1598), and a manuscript.

Under the title "A travers les Moissons,"§ Me. Brandon-Salvador has published a charming selection of Biblical, Talmudical, and Rabbinical texts. These texts are portioned out among the 365 days of the year,

\* Berlin: Calvary, 1904.

‡ Wien, 1904.

† Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1904.

§ Paris: Alcan, 1903.



month by month. It is an elegant volume, embellished by small vignettes, and embracing the best of ancient and modern Hebraical literature. The author has written a useful and excellent work, making known to the general public the masterpieces of Hebraical literature and Jewish thought.

Another work, also for diffusing knowledge in an excellent manner, is by N. Slouschz, whose remarkable ability as a Hebrew writer we have repeatedly had occasion to mention, for it is in the Hebrew language that Slouschz makes known to the Hebrew reading public the masterpieces of French literature of the nineteenth century. This time it is Guy de Maupassant, of whom he translates some fragments, and of whose literature he appreciates the great value.\* (גוואי ד"י מופסן כתבים נבחרים.)

We may mention, by the same author, the interesting opening lecture, which he delivered at the Sorbonne on March 3, 1904, whilst inaugurating his free course of Hebraical literature and language. In his opening lecture on "La langue et la littérature hébraïques depuis la Bible jusqu'à nos jours,"† he presented a general view of the said literature, which he divided into five epochs—Biblical (B.C. 1000-200), Talmudic (A.C. 200-A.D. 700), Judeo-Arab (A.D. 800-1400), Rabbinical (fourteenth to eighteenth century), modern (1743-1900).

F. Schulthess has published a "Lexicon syropalæstinum."‡

In the collection of the "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur," edited by Gebhardt and Harnack, we must point out "Die syrische Didaskalia," translated, with comments, by Achelis and Fleming.§

This publication is important, as coming from the very oldest sources of Eastern ecclesiastical law.

#### THE ARABIC LANGUAGE—ISLAM AND MUSSULMAN COUNTRIES.

A fifth edition of the excellent Arabic grammar by Socin has appeared revised by Brockelmann.||

The study of Arabic dialects is continued with much zeal by specialists. Doutté, who, as an Arabist, is beyond praise, has published in the "Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris" (vol. xii., 1903) an important work on an Arabic text in the Oran dialect. It includes the Arabic text with the pronunciation typified in transcription, the translation, and a grammatical and phonetical exposition of the text. This piece of interesting popular literature, which reminds one of similar stories in "The Thousand and One Nights," is entitled "Khorîfat ennâyer bû gèrn" ("Histoire de Janvier l'homme à la corne").

The Rev. J. Harwood, under the title of "A Message to Mohammedans,"¶ has published an interesting and judicious account of Unitarian Christianity for the use of Mussulmans. The value of this tract consists in not being inspired with an intention of missionary propaganda. "The object of the pamphlet," writes the author, "is to present to Mohammedans

\* Warschau : Tuschijah, 1903.

† Paris : E. Sansot et Cie., 1904.

‡ Berolini : Reimer, 1903.

§ Leipzig : Hinrichs, 1904.

|| Berlin : Reuther und Reichard, 1904.

¶ London : The British and Foreign Unitarian Association, 1903.

a different view of the Christian religion from the one with which they are probably familiar." The writer's object is not so much controversial as explanatory.

The *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (May-June, 1904) has published a very interesting work by Macler on the Arabic Apocalypse of Daniel (text, translation, and notes). This Apocalypse (an Arabic MS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris) appears to be a Christian work, supposed to be of Greek origin, and connected with the text of the Septuagint.

Among the Arabic publications are to be found the songs of an Egyptian peasant ("Die Lieder eines ägyptischen Bauern"), by H. Schäfer. The text is transcribed, and the translation is given.\* R. Vollers has published the poetry of a sixth-century poet, "Die Gedichte des Mutalammis Gerir ben 'Abdelmesih" (text and translation).†

In the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie et d'Archéologie de la Province d'Oran* (part 97, October-December, 1903),‡ Mouliéras has commenced a study of very great interest on an anti-Mussulman Zenete tribe in Morocco—the Zkara. This tribe inhabits the Jebel Zkara about forty kilometres from the Oranian frontier. The Zenites, Mouliéras tells us, are half Berbers, descended from an Arab father and a Berber mother; in this they do not differ from the majority of the population of Morocco. According to information gathered by Mouliéras, and some typical facts which he quotes, the Zkara are not Mussulmans, and the name of the prophet is odious to them. Does this mean that they are Christians? Mouliéras relates that some Zkara told him in absolute confidence, "We are Christians." The facts related by Mouliéras in this first article are insufficient to prove this argument, therefore we await impatiently the result of Mouliéras's inquiries.

Mr. Ditlef Nielsen has published an interesting and double monograph with the title of "Die altarabische Mondreligion und die Mosaische Ueberlieferung."§ The first part, on the worship of the moon by the ancient Arabs, is full of notes. The author considers that the word *sabat* (*sabbat* of the cuneiform inscriptions) is of foreign origin. In the Babylonian language the word should be *schabtu*, from *waschab*, to settle, to repose. The word *sabat* is a direct reproduction of the Arabic *thabat*, from *wathaba*, to settle, the Arabic *th* not being represented in Babylonian except by the letter *s*. The second part of the Mosaic translation is employed in settling the origin of the Jewish religion from the Arab lunar worship. The conclusions of this second part are altogether controvertible.

J. B. Andrews has written a very interesting essay on folk-lore, describing the Sudanese superstitions of Algiers as regards the "fountains of the genii" (*Seba Aïoun*),|| situated in the environs of this town. The conclusion to be drawn from this pamphlet is that the Sudanese, whether heathen or Mussulman, is always at heart an animist.

R. Basset has published in the *Revue historique* ¶ a learned paper on the Arab documents relating to the expedition of Charlemagne in Spain in

\* Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1903.

† *Ibid.*

‡ Oran: Fouque, 1903.

§ Strassburg: Trübner, 1904 (mit 42 Abbildungen).

|| Algiers: Jourdan, 1903.

¶ Vol. lxxxiv. Paris, 1904.

778. The Arab historians give but few details of this expedition; they make no mention either of Roland or of Roncevaux.

Professor Chauvin has published a curious pamphlet (*Wallonia*, vol. xii., Nos. 2 and 3, February-March, 1904) on the correspondence of the King of Sarandip with Hârûn al-rashid from the story of Sinbad the sailor. The author of "The Thousand and One Nights" seems to have copied a manuscript document of the Khedival Library, the text and translation of which had been published in the *Revue d'Égypte* (Cairo, 1894, pp. 23-30) by Ahmad Effendi Zéki. This document is a letter from the King of India, Rahma, to the Khalif Al-m'amûn, and the latter's reply, on the subject of an exchange of presents.

Professor Chauvin, the well-known Arabist and folk-lorist, has published in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde in Berlin* (part 3, 1904) an interesting monograph on the remarkable transport of intransportable things (Christian legends respecting this word: "faith transports mountains," Mussulman legends on movable towers and minarets, etc.).

We must also mention the important event of the publication of the first Moorish review, due to the initiative of Le Chatelier, Professor at the Collège de France, a well-known Africanist. The *Archives Marocaines*,\* as the review is called, is a scientific and documentary collection devoted principally by the founder to the study of the society and institutions of Morocco. The review is entrusted to the care of G. Salmon, a young Arabist of great attainments to whom the French Government has given the directorship of the "Mission scientifique Française," founded at Tangier in 1903.

An interesting and well-informed volume on "Le Maroc d'aujourd'hui"† has been published by E. Aubin. It is a collection of articles which have appeared in the *Journal des Débats* and several reviews in continuation of a journey by the author in Morocco. The author does not know Arabic, but he has been well-informed. He is, however, very unjust towards all writers before him who have written on Morocco. "Beyond historical data I have scarcely found anything to draw upon, because there exists, to my knowledge, no book in any language which explains the mechanism of Moroccan life and government." This somewhat presumptuous language is contradicted by copious Moroccan literature, either in Arabic or in European languages (De Foucault, J. Erckmann, B. Meakin, etc.).‡

Dr. Weisgerber, who has lived in and travelled over Morocco for many years, and whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making at Casablanca during my sojourn in that town, has published a very interesting volume on Morocco under the title of "Trois mois de campagne au Maroc."§ In 1897, whilst the Sultan made a *harka*—that is to say, a great *razzia* in order to bring the revolted tribes to reason, the Grand Vizier who—at

\* Paris: Leroux, 1904.

† Paris: Colin, 1904.

‡ *Vide* the rich Moroccan bibliography in "The Moorish Empire," by Budgett Meakin (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., 1899), and in "Morocco," by De la Martinière (London: Whittaker and Co., 1899).

§ Paris: Leroux, 1904.

that time was Si Ahmad ben Musa, fell ill at Sokhrat ed-Djeja, on the frontiers of the revolted Ourdigha, Beni-Khiran, and Mzab. Dr. Weisgerber, who practised as a doctor at Casablanca, was called to the Sultan's camp to treat the illustrious patient. In this manner he took part in the rest of the expedition, travelling with the Sultan through the Shaouïâ, the Doukkala, the Rahamna, and was finally present at the triumphant entry of the Sultan and his army into Marrakesh. These are the observations made during the course of the expedition and confirmed by four years' sojourn and journeys in Morocco, which Dr. Weisgerber gives to the public in the above-mentioned work. The book is divided into three parts: from Casablanca to Sokhrat ed-Djeja, in M'halla (the camp of the Sultan, of his court, and of his army; in this part will be found very reliable and precise information regarding the army and Moroccan administration), and from Sokhrat ed-Djeja to Marrakesh. There is an appendix on the orography, hydrography, geology, climate, flora, fauna, and population of the countries traversed. The work is accompanied by maps, photographs, and sketches by the author. We know of few accounts of journeys in Morocco so interesting and reliable.

# PROCEEDINGS OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS—A SHORT DAILY REPORT.

BÂLE, AUGUST 30—SEPTEMBER 2.

BY PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET.

THE Congress, consisting of 260 registered members, and divided into eight sections (I. Uncivilized, Peru, Mexico ; II. China and Japan ; III. Egypt ; IV. Semites ; V. India and Persia ; VI. Greece and Rome ; VII. Ancient Germans, Celts, Slavs, and Hungarians ; VIII. Christianity), was opened on Tuesday, August 30, at 10.30 a.m., by a solemn meeting held in the Concert Hall (Stadtkasino).

Official addresses were given by the following : Professors von Orelli (Bâle), president of the Congress ; E. Naville (Geneva), representing the " Conseil fédéral " ; Dr. Burckhardt-Finsler, Councillor of State (Bâle), in the name of the Conseil d'État of Bâle-Ville ; Ch. Burckhardt, Rector of the University of Bâle ; Albert Réville (Paris), president of the first Congress ; Soederblom (Upsala), on the part of the Swedish Government ; Haupt (Baltimore), representing the United States of America ; Garbe (Tübingen) ; Schröder (Vienna) ; Mahler (Budapesth) ; Linaker (Florence) ; Balfour (Oxford) ; E. Montet (Geneva), on the part of the Swiss Universities ; Rastamji Edulji Dustoor Peshotan Sanjana, high-priest of the Parsis of Bombay ; Derenbourg (Paris), representing the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres ; Bonet-Maury (Paris), representing the University of Paris ; Holtzmann (Strasburg).

At 3 p.m. the different sections were arranged, and at 4.30 p.m. the first general meeting was held.

At this meeting, presided over by Mr. Albert Réville, Mr. Guimet, director of the museum which bears his name, bestowed a gift of the publications of his institute, of which he has already edited more than 100 volumes. Afterwards

Professor Dieterich (Heidelberg) made a long and interesting communication on "The Religion of Mother Earth," a study of popular traditions, of mythology and of philosophy; the earth considered as the mother from whom all human beings issued. Professor Deussen (Kiel) spoke of the close relationship of the Hindu and Christian religions, but the comparisons he made appeared to be very artificial. Professor Jean Réville (Paris) read a good paper on the very intimate relations which exist between the history of religions and ecclesiastical history. Finally, the missionary, J. Weber (Menzikon, Switzerland), under the title, "Visit to a Cloister of Lamas in Tibet," read an account of Buddhism (their religious ideas, their morals and worship), and showed several interesting objects of Tibetan worship.

Among the sections we may point out a work by Professor Zapletal (Freiburg, Switzerland) on the belief in immortality in Ecclesiastes (Kohleth), and also an essay, the very venturesome inferences of which are questioned, by S. Fries (Stockholm), regarding "the Prince of this world" in the Apocalypse of John.

In the evening there was a friendly reception at the Sommerkasino.

On Wednesday, August 31, at 9.30 a.m., there was a general meeting, Professor Haupt presiding. Professor von Schröder (Vienna) read a long *mémoire* on the belief in a Supreme Being of incomparable goodness of the Arians, a very general work, including all the religions of Indo-Germanic origin. Professor Furrer (Zürich) spoke on the value of the history of religions for Christian theologians. This discourse, which was of double use with the *mémoire* presented the previous day by J. Réville on the same subject, terminated in a sermon, the author being a minister in Zürich. Mr. Guimet supported in an interesting manner the contestable thesis of the Brahmanic origin of religious ideas, in other respects obscure, of Lao-Tseu. Finally, the Parsi high-priest read, in part, a very interesting paper, in which he sought to demonstrate that Mazdeism is mono-

theism (Angro-Mainyu being nothing but the personification of the evil), and that it does not consist of fire worship. According to the author of this paper, the name Ahura Mazda signifies Ahu-ra = *light* and *He who is*, Maz-da = *the great Creator*.

At 3 p.m. there were sectional meetings (numbers 6 and 7 were combined, owing to the small number of its members). The following were the works presented in the sections :

Semitic section : Dr. Théodore Reinach (Paris) :—The date of the definite drawing up of the Pentateuch. According to the author, Esdras, although contemporary with Nehemiah, is anterior, and both of them lived without Artaxerxes Ochus. The Pentateuch assumed its last form about the year 300. These contestable questions were much discussed. Professor Huart (Paris) read a work, which was very interesting, on Musulman rationalism in the tenth century (Motahhar ben Tâhir). Rabbi Tänzer (Hohenems), on Judaism in the history of the development of humanity, and J. Halévy (Paris), on the unity of the three first chapters of Genesis.

Christian section : Professor Jean Réville, on the illustration of the ecclesiastical history, by several traits, of the propagation of Christianity in Madagascar. Professor Picavet (Paris), on the two directions of Catholic theology in the thirteenth century. Professor Krüger (Giessen), on the antimarcionitic character of the ancient Roman Symbo'. Dr. A. Jeremias, on "Is there any Babylonian Influence in the New Testament?"—an original work, but with little foundation.

Other sections\* : Professor Carpenter (Oxford), on several obscure points of Buddhistic doctrine. Professor von Schröder (Vienna), on the seventh Aditya. Professor Reitzenstein (Strasburg), on the *Aion*. Dr. Deubner (Bonn), on the piety of Publius Decius Mus. Professor Kohlbach (Kaposvar), on the polytheism of pagan Hungary. Maier, the missionary (Berne), on "Do the Chinese profess

\* The Semitic and the tenth sections were the most patronized.

religious indifference?" Rivers (St. John's College, Cambridge), on the religion of the Todas. Berthoud, a missionary (Neuchâtel), on the excessive religious scrupulousness of the Ba-Ronga. Allegret, a missionary (Tala-gonga), on the religious ideas of the Fañ (West Africa)—a very interesting work. Professor Bonet-Maury (Paris), on the relations of Akbar with the Parsis. Guimet, on the god of buds (Osiris) and the stelas of serpents.

In the evening a brilliant reception was given to the delegates by Mr. and Mrs. Burkhardt-Heussler.

#### THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1.

The list of those attending amounted to 266, and, including those absent, the total number of members was over 300.

At 8.30 a.m. the third general meeting was held, under the chairmanship of Professor Haupt. Kaikioku Watanabé, of the High Buddhistic School of Tokio, spoke, in German which was hardly intelligible, of the actual state of religions in Japan. Professor Nieuwenhuis (Leyden) described the religious ceremonies during the building of houses by the Bahan Dayak of Upper Mahakam in Borneo. Professor Mahler (Budapesth) spoke on the dates of the calendar in their historical and religious signification. Finally, Professor Haupt (Baltimore) read a fine German translation of the book of Koheleth, whom he regards as a physician of the end of the era preceding Jesus Christ.

At 11 a.m. there were sectional meetings.

Semitic section: Dr. Rosenbaum (Paris) discoursed on the topography of the temple of Herod, and on the service of the High Priest on the day of the great pardon, according to the Talmud. Professor Derenbourg (Paris) made an important communication on the Himyaritic inscription containing twice the name of the goddess Al-Ouzza (A.D. 300). Professor Mez (Bâle) made an interesting speech on the miracles of Muhammad.

In the Christian section Dr. Lincke (Jena) attempted to discover in the history of Jesus and of primitive Christianity



the rivalry between Israel and Judah. Professor Alphandéry (Paris) gave a remarkable work on prophetism in the Latin sects of the Middle Ages prior to Joachimism.

Other sections: Professor Keller (Zürich), on the religious and profane pictures of Abyssinia. Von Zinigródski (Galicia), a work on Totemism (this was read, the author being absent). Missionary Schultze (Darmstadt), "Magic in Chinese Life." Professor Westphal (Montauben), "Has the Worship of Mitra disappeared from the Folk-lore of Europe?" Professor Dieterich (Heidelberg), on the ceremony of covered hands. Professor Wünsch (Giessen), on "Religion and Thaumaturgy."

In the afternoon there was an excursion to, and dinner at, Flühen.

#### FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2.

Sectional meetings at 8.30 p.m.

Semitic section: Professor Kessler (Greifswald), on the religion of the Mandeans and the problems arising therefrom. Professor Hommel (Munich), on the topography of Babylon (of much interest). J. Halévy (Paris), on the symbolism in Hosea and Ezekiel (an ingenious and learned work, but open to controversy). A summary was read of the work by Professor Curtiss (Chicago), who was absent through illness, entitled "The Origin of Sacrifice among the Semites, according to Researches made amongst the Syrians and Arabs of the Present Time."

Christian section: J. Halévy (Paris), on three Logia of Jesus from unknown sources. Professor Menzies (Scotland): the author being absent, his work was read, "What is New in Christianity?"

Other sections: Kaikioku Watanabé (Tokio), on Manicheism in ancient China according to Buddhist writings. Dr. F. W. K. Müller (Berlin), fragments of Manichean literature discovered in Chinese Turkestan. Dr. Führer (Bâle), religious ideas and ceremonies of the Phânsigâns. Arakelian (Tiflis), on the ancient religion of

the Armenians. Professor Goodwin Smith (Cincinnati), on the religion of Akbar.\*

At 10.30 a.m. there was a general meeting, under the presidency of Soederblom. Dr. P. Sarasin (Bâle), on the religious ideas among the very lowest class of humanity (inferior races). Dr. A. Jeremias (Leipzig), on monotheist currents in the Babylonian religion (interesting, but exaggerated). Professor Kessler (Greifswald), on the importance of Manicheism from the history of religions point of view (a summary of Kessler's very interesting work on Manicheism, which was published some years ago). Professor Kohlbach (Kaposvár), on the influence of the fine arts on the religion of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, and Greece.

At 4.30 p.m., the closing meeting, Mr. E. Naville in the chair. A work sent by Professor Curtiss was read, on the survivals of ancient Semitic religion in Syrian centres of Muslim and Christian influence (see the work on this subject published by Curtiss).

The president proposed that the next meeting—the Third International Congress of the History of Religions—should take place four years hence—viz., in 1908. The choice of country and place of meeting of the third Congress was left to the acting committee appointed in Paris in 1900 (Messrs. A. Réville, Carpenter, Goldziher, De Gubernatis, E. Naville, Goblet d'Alviela), and to which has been added Messrs. Von Orelli, Bertholet, and Dieterich. Votes of thanks were passed to the committee of the Congress and its president. Professor von Orelli gave a brief address on the closure of the Bâle Congress.

At 8 p.m. a farewell banquet was held in the "Musiksaal," and several speeches were made, among which may be mentioned those of Professor Bertholet and Mr. Albert Réville, both much applauded. The first-named gentleman has

\* I do not pretend to have noticed all the works which were presented. The impossibility of attending at one time all the sections may have caused my omitting some of them.

been the soul of the Congress through his exertions as general secretary; the last-named deserved the place of honour by his exertions and the very important part he took in the foundation of these Congresses.

The Congress has been exceedingly well organized, and has proved a great success. Our best thanks are due to the Bâle Committee, as well as to the authorities of the canton, the town, and the University, not forgetting the inhabitants, who were extremely interested in the Congress. We may, however, be permitted to make one or two criticisms.

The Congress of the History of Religions is not as yet of a sufficiently distinct character; many of the works which were read could very well have been offered to a Congress of Orientalists.

It is amazing to notice the apologetical tendencies of some speakers, be they Christian, Jewish, or others. All this apologetic spirit should be dispensed with at such meetings.

Finally, and this may be said in regard to other Congresses, more order should be introduced in the papers that are read. Professor Picavet (Paris) has in this matter made an excellent proposition—that each author of a communication should have the conclusions of his paper printed and distributed amongst the audience before it is read. It is much to be regretted that this proposition was neither discussed nor put to the vote, but postponed till the next Congress. This is an error of judgment on the part of the Bâle Committee.

## ORIENTAL STUDIES IN ENGLAND AND ON THE CONTINENT : A COMPARISON.

BY HALIL HALID, M.A., M.R.A.S.\*

IT may safely be said that at no time in the world's history has the competition of nations in commercial and political fields, all over the world been keener than it is at the present time, and nowhere is this international rivalry a more acute fact than in the East. For generations past the political and commercial interests of Great Britain have been predominant in the greater portion of the Orient ; and though she still maintains her supremacy in many parts of the Eastern world, it cannot be reasonably believed that she will in future stand quite in the same predominant position. In the past she had not to face so formidable and active a rivalry as she now finds on the part of other nations, and, as all intelligent travellers in the East would testify, her influence and her prestige were greater among the majority of Oriental peoples than those of the rival Powers of Europe. Whether this is the case to-day is becoming a matter of grave doubt, and the question of facing foreign rivalry and maintaining British interests and influence is one which deserves the most careful consideration. Any change in the fiscal policy of this country will doubtless stimulate the existing rivalry in Eastern markets, and in order to hold their own ground a sound and methodical Oriental training is almost as important for Englishmen nowadays as perfection in technical education. While, on the other hand, in deciding the destiny of the Eastern policy of Great Britain, superiority of education on Oriental matters is as essential as superiority of armed strength.

England is still a prominent Oriental Power, but how far is she taking any serious steps towards promoting the Oriental researches and studies which are necessary to

\* Author of "The Diary of a Turk" (Adam and Charles Black, London).

enable her to keep this position? English Orientalists, as well as other Englishmen who have had practical experience of the East, unanimously maintain that Great Britain almost alone among the Great Powers of Europe does little or practically nothing for the encouragement of Oriental study and research. So far, however, these complainants have hardly done more than voice their complaint, but by doing so they have to some extent prepared the way for a more extended consideration of the subject. In this paper I purpose to support their contention by giving some brief account of Oriental studies in the more advanced States of Europe, and by showing how and in what degree these studies receive State support. This done, it will be easier to draw an accurate comparison between England and other countries, and to perceive in what way she may advantageously follow their example.

The main point of difference between the English and Continental methods of treating Oriental studies is this: Those of the Continental Powers which have rivalry of interest in the East have taken the matter seriously, and have founded special and systematically organized institutions for teaching Oriental languages, and such subjects as the history, geography, legislations, commercial matters, etc., of the East. They assure the maintenance of these Oriental institutions by munificent grants, their efficiency by putting them in the charge of eminent Orientalists or of officials well versed in Eastern matters, and their usefulness by employing the men trained in them in their service in the East. In England, on the other hand, Oriental studies as a whole are treated as if of slight importance; there exists no systematically organized institution for their encouragement; and, lastly, even should a man qualify himself in Oriental subjects privately, he cannot hope for any preference if it be his object to seek an official career in the East.

We do not propose in this paper to touch on such supplementary aids to Oriental study as the Chairs

for Eastern languages which exist in several Continental Universities; it is with the institutions which exist solely for teaching modern Eastern languages and requirements, and that to a practical end, that we wish to deal. Of these the most important are: In France, the *École Spéciale des Langues Orientales Vivantes*; in Italy, the *R. Istituto Orientale*; in Austria, the *K. K. Oeffentliches (vide p. 345) Lehranstalt für Orientalische Sprachen*; and in Germany, the *Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen*.

The Oriental College of France, which is situated in Paris, is State-supported. It is under the control of the Minister of Public Instruction, and under the management of a Principal who is an eminent French Orientalist. Political and commercial exigencies combined to make the need for such a college felt, and it has justified itself by its useful work, of which the results are principally shown in the training of student interpreters for the Levant and for the Far East. The chief subjects taught in the college are as follows: The Arabic, Persian, Turkish, modern Greek, Hindustani, Russian, Chinese, Japanese, Siamese (Thai) languages, with the dialects of the Sudan and Algeria, etc., political and commercial geography, the history of each country whose language is learnt, and the legal codes of the States of the Muhammadan Orient, as well as of the Far East. For the literary study of these languages the lecturers are mostly Frenchmen, while the assistant lecturers, to whom is entrusted the colloquial part of the work, are as a rule natives of the several countries. The course of study lasts for three years. The lectures are free and open to others besides the regular students of the college, and anyone may attend a course. This is a very wise provision, and extremely useful to students of other colleges or nations who may find the acquisition of an Oriental language valuable. Besides these regular courses, occasional public lectures are given in the college buildings on general subjects more or less connected with the special studies. Students who make marked progress

in any language may be rewarded by a gift of money up to 1,000 francs from the Ministry of Instruction on the recommendation of the council of professors. After passing their final examination, the students receive diplomas, and a list of those (of French nationality) who have passed is submitted to the Ministers for War, Marine, Commerce, and Foreign Affairs. The careers open to graduates of the college are dragomanships in the Nearer East, interpreterships in the Far East, and the Civil Service in Indo-China, Madagascar, Tunis, and Algeria.

The thorough teaching of all Oriental subjects in France is practically concentrated in this college, though there are other places where lectures are given on the more important languages and legislations of the East, as, for instance, L'École Libre des Sciences Politiques, in which there is a Chair for Arabic and Muhammadan law. In order that I may give some idea of the number of persons who desire to study Oriental languages, I here append the statistics of those who have studied Arabic, Persian, and Turkish in the college during the past three years :

	1899-1900.		1900-1901.		1901-1902	
Arabic (colloquial and literary)	63	...	59	...	65	
Persian ...	...	...	15	...	12	14
Turkish ...	...	...	13	...	12	12

The statistics for the same period of those who have taken those three languages together, and who are specially preparing for the consular and diplomatic services, are as follows :

1899-1900.		1900-1901.		1901-1902.	
13	...	11	...	12	

Italy has not nearly such great possessions or interests in the East as other Great Powers, but she does not allow that to be an excuse for neglecting to train men to maintain her prestige in the Orient. It may be a matter for surprise, but it is true, when I remark that there are more men in Italy learning—let us say, Arabic and Turkish—than there are in England, who has to maintain her

position as the greatest Power in the East. Arabic and other important Eastern tongues are taught in the Universities of Rome, Turin, and Palermo ; but the centre of Oriental study is the R. Istituto Orientale at Naples. Here are taught Chinese, Hindustani, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, modern Greek, the dialects of Abyssinia, and English (as necessary in the British possessions in the East). The professors are mostly Italians, and the *répétiteurs*, as in the case of the French College, are mostly foreigners. Here, too, the course of study is three years, and the management of the College is vested in a board of lecturers.

We now come to Austria and the facilities which she offers to those who desire to pursue Oriental studies. There are professors of various Eastern tongues at Vienna University, and several of the Muhammadan languages are taught to candidates for the Austro-Hungarian consular service at the Consular Akademie. But, as we have said, the College specially established for Oriental study is the Imperial Oeffentliches Lehranstalt für Orientalische Sprachen. The institution was organized in 1873, and was put under the control of the Minister of Education. The languages taught here are Arabic, Turkish, Russian, Persian, Servian, Bulgarian, and modern Greek. The College is free to all who may wish to attend the lectures, an almost nominal fee only being asked from each student (as is also the case in Paris and Berlin). The money thus collected goes to augment the College library. Lectures are given in the evening between 5 and 8 p.m., so that those who are engaged in other work in the day-time may be able to attend. Although in some ways this College is not so important as those of Paris and Berlin, yet its teaching is so sound and thorough that no scholar need go further afield to qualify himself in such languages as are taught here. The practical and colloquial part of the instruction is in the hands of natives of the different countries. Certificates are given to students who have



passed through their course satisfactorily, but the Government is under no obligation to employ graduates in its service in the Levant. Many of the students attend the College with a view to private enterprise, preparing themselves for careers as missionaries, journalists, commercial agents, and so forth. Women attend the lectures as well as men, for they find openings in the East as governesses, nurses and traders; it should, by the way, be remarked that in those parts of the Orient where women live in seclusion a considerable amount of business is done by female pedlars or agents who go from house to house. The following list shows the number of students who attended lectures here in 1901, an average year :

	Arabic.	Turkish.	Persian.	Servian.	Russian.	Modern Greek.
Men ...	31	15	15	24	37	6
Women	1	1	1	1	4	2

The Berlin College, or Seminar für Orientalische Sprachen, is attached to the Friedrich-Wilhelm University. It may safely be said that this is the best organized of all Oriental colleges in Europe. The following Oriental tongues are taught here : Chinese, Japanese, Arabic (with the dialects of Syria, Arabia, Egypt and Morocco), Turkish, Persian, Suahili, Hindustani, Gujerati, Hausa, etc. English, French and Russian are also taught, with a view to securing greater efficiency in the students who may be required to go to the possessions of these countries in the East. Many other subjects are also taught here—the geography of German possessions in Africa, tropical hygiene, the botany of the tropics, with its application to industry and other purposes (with a view to teaching this thoroughly, the students are invited to study in the botanical gardens and in the museums), colonial politics, commercial relations with foreign Powers, colonial and consular regulations, etc. The students of the College may be divided into two main bodies : those who aim at entering the colonial, diplomatic, or consular service, and those whose intentions are private and personal. The students who join the

College with a view to official employment abroad have to pass a high test of ability, and must have taken a University diploma.

In the Oriental Colleges of Austria and Germany it may be noted that the assistant-teachers are all *bonâ fide* natives of the countries whose languages they teach, whereas in the French and Italian schools this is not the case, as some of the assistant-teachers of Mussulman languages there are not Mussulmans at all, but Eastern Christians. In England, too, where, as I shall point out, Oriental studies are only irregularly conducted, the teaching of, and examining in, some important Muhammadan tongues is sometimes entrusted to natives of the Levant who are not Muhammadans. It does not, of course, follow that these men are not competent, but naturally they labour under disabilities. An Armenian is not a Turk, nor is a Syrian Christian an Arab, and it is not to be expected that they should be so well acquainted with Muhammadan history, literature and culture, or that they should be able to represent the customs and laws of Islam as faithfully as a true native. After all, what is required in efficient teaching is accuracy, and the sentiment, which perhaps inspires the appointment of some of these Eastern Christians, is not sufficiently important to excuse the misrepresentations which may result from the ignorance or prejudice of unqualified teachers.

With regard to Oriental studies in Russia I am, unfortunately, unable to give exact statistics. There are, however, institutions both in Moscow and St. Petersburg where Asiatic languages receive careful attention, and where a large number of people study them every year. Perhaps this may to some extent explain the statement often made by English writers, which I have not yet seen supported by any other valid reason, that Russians have a greater understanding of conquered Asiatic peoples than Englishmen. Some of the lesser European States by no means neglect the learning of the East. Holland, for

instance, can boast of some very eminent Orientalists versed both in the languages and literatures of the Mussulman East. I have known some Englishmen who went over to Holland to perfect themselves in Arabic and Persian.

In England, as I need hardly state, there is no special State-organized institution for teaching Oriental subjects. All Oriental study is conducted either at the expense of some Government office for its own purposes, or else independently of the State by some seats of learning. In the first class comes the training of the Indian Civil Servants, of such military and naval officers as have to pass in certain Eastern languages for prizes, and of the student interpreters for the Far and Nearer East. The time given by Indian Civil Service students to Oriental languages can hardly be called serious Oriental study, as it consists only in learning a few vernaculars of the Indian Empire, and hardly ever Arabic and Persian. As this class of students has to study difficult subjects necessitated by the importance of the duty they will be required to discharge in future, their acquisition of these vernaculars could not properly be termed special Oriental study. With regard to officers, I am not exaggerating when I say that it is hardly possible for them to acquire a decent knowledge of any Eastern language in this country. For want of an officially authorized and properly constituted Oriental institute, in many cases they are compelled to go to some self-styled "professor" of the languages, who may be competent to teach it, but probably is not, being, as I have said before, often of a totally different nationality and speaking a different tongue. Of course, some of the candidates pass the Oriental examinations, of which there are two every year, and obtain the reward offered by the Government offices with which they are connected, but there is a curious lack of system throughout. It not seldom happens that men who are only superficially acquainted with their subject come better out of the ordeal than those who have real knowledge. I have seen

copies both of lectures delivered to officers and of papers set in Arabic and Turkish, and I have found in them such strange examples of composition and spelling that I have perceived that the duty was not in the right hands. It is somewhat surprising that the Government departments which enjoin the study of these languages should not entrust the matter to some British-born Orientalists. These defects in the method of teaching and examining military men in Oriental languages are not a little serious. The prize awarded by the Government offices concerned for each language is quite sufficient to encourage due qualifications, yet due qualifications can hardly be secured under the existing method of study and examination. An officer who passes the examination in some Oriental dialect may some day be called on to act in the East as Consul, Military Attaché, or as Governor or Commander in one of Great Britain's Eastern possessions, or be permitted by his Government to be employed in the service of a friendly Oriental State. It is obvious that the first requirement for special service of this kind is an adequate knowledge of the language of the country in question. Without it a man could not be expected to do his own work properly, much less to safeguard or promote Great Britain's interests and influence.

I now come to the training of student interpreters. Candidates for consular service in the Far East are not trained here, being sent out to acquire their specified languages at first hand. Candidates, however, for the Nearer East are at present trained in this country, as the attempt to train them in a special institution on the Bosphorus proved a failure. If only this work were taken up a little more thoroughly by the Foreign Office, the oft-repeated complaint as to the inefficiency of the consular service would not be justified, and the Government would be represented in the Levant by a body of adequately trained and efficient men. The action of the Foreign Office at present is as follows: It selects two or three

young men every few years, and sends them sometimes to Oxford, and sometimes to Cambridge, with an allowance of £200 a year for two years, that they may learn three languages (at present Turkish, Arabic and Russian) and some legal code. At present the student interpreters for the Nearer East are being trained at Cambridge, the only English University where anything like serious encouragement is given to the study of modern Eastern languages.

Considering the recognised importance of an efficient consular service in the Nearer East, there are one or two suggestions which I think would not be out of place with regard to the selection and training of candidates. With regard to selection : Instead of selecting them and sending them to the University, why should they not be selected from among those undergraduates who display linguistic ability, and who have studied or are actually engaged in studying history, political science, political economy, international law, and other subjects of great utility in the service ? Why, again, should those of marked ability not be eligible for the diplomatic service as well ? The number of students, too, should be increased. It is, we may suppose, because their number is at present insufficient that the British Government has still to employ several others in the consular service in the Levant, which is obviously a thing to be completely abandoned. Moreover, there are some British Consuls in the Levant who, owing to their insufficient acquaintance with the languages, ways, and laws of the countries in which they live, are obliged to secure the assistance of dragomans elsewhere. Such men should on the earliest possible occasion be replaced by student-interpreters, who have been trained under Government supervision and are thus qualified for the service. But whatever means are taken for increasing the efficiency of student interpreters, one thing will be agreed upon by everybody : their training ought to be systematized, and not left to chance or the exigencies of the moment.

One word with regard to the general aspect of Oriental study. The system of centralized institutions is not much favoured in Great Britain, and therefore we cannot hope for the establishment here of a central institute for Oriental studies, similar to those of the Continental institutes, which I have enumerated. It is therefore to the great Universities that we must look for the encouragement of this branch of study. At present in the Universities attention is principally paid to the ancient Oriental languages and literatures. They are regarded as a classical subject, and treated from the point of view of scholarship, and many eminent scholars devote their time, labour, and sometimes their private means, to furthering this end. But the study of the living Eastern languages, which is much more useful for practical purposes, meets with less encouragement, nor does it receive, as we have pointed out, sufficient official support. Naturally, no student of a University would take up these modern Oriental languages unless he had some hope of finding an opening in the public service in the East. The comparison I have attempted to draw shows how far England is behind the other Great Powers of Europe in this direction.

“East is East, and West is West, and never the twain can meet,” has almost the weight of a proverb with some Englishmen. But it does not follow that the lesson it seems to convey is correct. Is it not possible that this mutual misunderstanding is the result of indifference or ignorance?

## THE BRITISH EMPIRE AND MALTA.

BY A DWELLER IN THE SOUTH.

### I.

IT is one of the drawbacks of an Empire upon which "the sun never sets" that there are other things almost as constantly making their appearance at one point or another as the sunshine—"little wars," racial animosities, and the like—which demand uninterrupted alertness and swift, masterly handling. Unfortunately, the Englishman, who delights to live in a fool's paradise, is in the habit of ignoring all that is disagreeable, as though he could thus rid himself of it, with the contrary result, more often than not, of bringing about the inordinate growth of unpleasantness that might have been nipped in the bud if examined and firmly dealt with at once. Such has been the case with regard to the Maltese language. The question is in abeyance for the time being, but this is no guarantee that it may not again give much trouble if allowed to become acute; hence the adviseableness of inquiring, while there is time, if any provision can be made against its doing so. To this end it is first necessary to review the treatment meted out to us by the Italian papers, which, Mr. O. Eltzbacher has pointed out in the *Contemporary Review*, were responsible for the outcry against Mr. Chamberlain's policy, and are, therefore, not the least important factor in the problem.

Not long ago a leader in an important London journal contained the following highly mischievous passage: "There is one nation in Europe—Italy—that remembers old kindness, and has for us a goodwill not sufficiently valued. If Italy is not our ally we have only ourselves to blame, for all classes in that country regard Great Britain as their natural

friend." Had the writer of this jeremiad acquainted himself with the facts, he would have found that, far from not valuing Italy's goodwill, we had made much of that which did not exist, and that it was not for want of advances on our part—repaid with official coldness and unofficial hostility—that Italy was not our ally. Thus, to mention but one out of many instances, while the imprudent remarks of a French Minister in September, 1902, at once brought forth from London the expression of a wish that Italy would protect her seaboard by means of an alliance with Great Britain, no response came from Rome, where the only comment made was that M. Pelletan's indiscretions would fail to alienate the Peninsula from France. As a general rule, when Italian statesmen could not well avoid referring to the "traditional friendship" over which we waxed so enthusiastic, they confined themselves to frigid repetitions of the stereotyped language—quite as consistent with hostile as with amicable intentions—whose office it is to hide the thoughts of the diplomatist, while the chief Roman papers seldom or never went beyond the "correct" attitude they were committed to as the actual or potential mouthpieces of prominent politicians.

The bulk of the Italian press, unrestrained by such considerations, let slip no opportunity of venting its spite against us, especially during the war in South Africa. The sheet that lays undisputed claim to the largest circulation in the country, and is, at any rate, the oracle people swear by in many regions, led the way. It vied in animosity with the most virulent of the journals subsidized outside Italy to attack us, which it equalled, or even surpassed, in the misrepresentation of everything we were connected with; and numbers of others hardly less venomous, monarchical as well as Radical, were to be found both in the larger and the smaller centres.

None but Boer versions passed current in Italy, where they were invariably treated as Gospel, while the public was advised to distrust all British intelligence. A leaf was



taken out of the book of our foes on the Neva, the identical suppressions, distortions, and fabrications being resorted to that were complained of by correspondents in Russia. Telegrams were not only manipulated to convey a false idea of the situation, but were at times even made to affirm the exact opposite of the truth.\* Our authentic reverses were thus supplemented by the home-made article, at the same time that the enemy's mishaps were minimized. The Italian papers exulted in all the ill that befell us, made the most of it to belittle us, credited us throughout with the basest motives, and seized upon every other means they could devise of setting their readers against us. It was not the war alone, moreover, that furnished them with pretexts; they have sought them both before and after—in Erythrea, Malta, etc.—besides employing many matters that did not lend themselves to downright attack as means of holding us up to derision.

The sweeping assertion that every class in Italy is in our favour will not bear inspection in the face of the systematic antagonism displayed towards us by the majority of Italian journalists—themselves a class to be taken into account—and of its natural effect upon those who have come under the influence of their writings. It would be incredible, indeed, that such a statement should be made at all were it not that people in England, for some occult reason, are not allowed to receive Italian news unless it has been specially idealized and otherwise doctored, so as to appear in the most favourable light—a process, by the way,

\* Here is a specimen. Note the difference between the messages published in England and in Italy.

"RELEASE OF PRISONERS.

(*Reuter's telegram.*)

"LORENÇO MARQUES,

"August 30.

"All the British prisoners at Nooitgedacht have been released by the Boers," etc.

"ANOTHER ENGLISH REVERSE.

"*The Stefani [telegraphic agency] advises us from Lorenzo Marques, 31st.*

"The Boers have relieved Novitgegutch [*sic*]. All the English who were within have been taken prisoners.

N.B. — No contradiction subsequently appeared.

which often makes it impossible to recognise.\* When hatred of the English stared one in the face on practically every page printed in Italy, she was only spoken of at home in leading articles gushing over "our only ally," or in letters from correspondents who fell into raptures at the extraordinary sympathy of the Italian Press with Great Britain, evolved by their brain out of the lukewarm expressions which the Roman semi-official organs, for the reason already given, could not on all occasions dispense with. Constant efforts were made to incorporate into the Englishman's creed the belief that Anglophobia only existed in Vatican circles in Italy, the supporters of the ruling dynasty being entirely free from it, and to explain away its prevalence among the Socialists and Republicans. Affirmations of Italian friendliness were treated as if they were irrefragable; publicity was given to them alone, and all evidence to the contrary—Italian newspapers teemed with it—was ignored. The lengths to which suppression was carried may be inferred from the fact that one of our foremost dailies, on learning that an impossible statement had been fathered upon it, elected, rather than call attention to Italian methods, itself to remain under the imputation of having given the lie direct to the Commander-in-Chief in South Africa.

Although, as Mr. Chamberlain has shown when dealing with Count von Bülow, prompt and vigorous protest is the most effective means of meeting Continental accusations, judgment was always allowed to go by default where those of the Italians were concerned. Meanwhile

\* This transformation is not confined to matters in which our interests are involved. Take the consequences of a military duel at Treviso in 1902. According to the report which the *Corriere della Sera*, the chief monarchical journal in Milan, and the one commonly quoted by English correspondents as the index of opinion there, made its own, the punishment "created the most painful impression among the whole population." The account sent to England from Milan, on the other hand, concluded thus: "These measures have made a very favourable impression, this being the first occasion on which a duel has met with such severe punishment in Italy."

writings of the same stamp as the leading article quoted from above brought forward a purely imaginary contrast between the sentiments of the Press in Italy and in other lands towards the Boers—a fiction turned to good account by Italian politicians endowed with the requisite amount of effrontery, some of whom actually made use of it to read perfidious Albion a lecture on her base ingratitude in Malta. Nothing was easier than to give a complete answer to their diatribes on the language question there, since ample material was to be had without going beyond the testimony of their own countrymen. They might have been reminded, moreover, that the debt was on their side, considering the large part British interference had played in the expansion of the kingdom of Sardinia, and that the extremely conciliatory tone adopted by Mr. Chamberlain and by the organs of public opinion in Great Britain, when treating of all things Italian, equally deserved some recognition. But, once more, we maintained an incriminating silence. As we had taken no steps in the first instance to prevent the poison from penetrating the system, so we now let its action be intensified by fresh doses to which we opposed no antidote. And thus we drifted along, until His Majesty's continental tour and the return of the royal visit by Victor Emmanuel III. happily brought about a relaxation of the Italian journalistic campaign against us. Since then it has by no means ceased, indeed,\* but we have been less often and less violently attacked.

\* Thus the London correspondent of the *Corriere della Sera*, on May 16 last, described a communication from Chefoo to the *Daily News* as "the first telegram from an English source that seems really impartial." If this is the treatment we receive at the hands of a paper currently represented as one of the most Anglophile in Italy, what is to be said of the rest? It is interesting to note, by the way, that its correspondent made the solitary British message in which he was pleased to find truth responsible for the statements, amongst others, that the different bombardments of Port Arthur had produced little or no effect, and that, with the exception of the *Retvisan* and *Askold*, none of the Russian warships there had been damaged.

## II.

How to hinder its recrudescence is now the question. For the present the Russo-Japanese War has secured a prominence in Italian papers hardly ever given to an event outside the country, and comparatively little attention is paid even to such matters as the movements of the Somaliland Mullah, which may prove a source of trouble to the administrators of the Benadir Coast. But, if interest in the Far East wanes, fresh attacks may be brought about at any moment by renewed activity on the part of the Maltese malcontents, whose repining never fails to be sympathetically chronicled in Italy. It is not by means of our customary indolence that we shall lessen their clamour and its echoes in the Peninsula, or by presenting the inhabitants with mythical grievances that we shall conciliate them. We must wake up, and begin by insisting that Italy be shown us in her true colours, instead of the facts being altered to fit in with the fanciful picture that makes leader-writers involuntarily misguide us. When the British Press discovers that her dispositions towards us differ little, if at all, from those of the rest of the Continent, it may be expected, to the great enhancement of its dignity and usefulness, to put off the guise of the suppliant in which it now approaches her, and to keep no less sharp a look-out for Italian slanders than it does for other foreign libels. As a necessary consequence it will rebut them without delay, and so prevent them from being pronounced unanswerable. Nay, this ought also to go a long way towards putting an end to them, for it must disconcert their authors to think of the exposure certain to follow.

Immediate contradiction would be even more effectual; a story discredited at its first appearance is hardly worth concocting. But evil report could not be combated thus except through well-informed local journals, which alone would be able at once to give it the lie by promulgating the real version at least equally early. There are authoritative

publications in Italy not yet irrevocably wedded to Anglophobia, and these might serve the purpose provided they could be prevailed upon to adopt a full and accurate telegraphic service. It ought not to be impossible to prove to them that it would be to their advantage to do so. The writer has always found Italians quick to appreciate the difference, for instance, between the circumstantial descriptions sent home by our war correspondents in Greece, South Africa, etc., and the few ambiguous sentences to which the accounts in their own papers were confined. It must pay, then, to provide something less meagre, for this could hardly fail to attract the public.\* Authentic particulars, to come back to our own point of view, would presumably give a less antagonistic complexion to editorial comment, and, even if they did not, they would speak for themselves were they substituted for the lying messages supplied by certain continental agencies and correspondents. If the facts as to Malta, say, were made known, they would tell a totally different tale from that which the absence of adequate information has led pressmen to set before their readers.

The immunity from confutation upon which they could rely in Great Britain, and their countrymen's utter ignorance of the truth, have enabled them to give free rein to their imagination. They have repeatedly begged the question and disregarded the inferences from their own admissions. Why, forsooth, should they have stood upon such trifles, when there was no one to call them to account? On these lines the *Gazzetta del Popolo*, for example, the most influential Royalist organ in Piedmont, and one of the most Anglophobe, strove\* to produce the

\* A few days after the above sentence was written the *Stampa* of Turin announced the first step in this direction. It said that it had secured the sole publication in Italy of the *New York Herald* telegrams from the Far East, explaining that journalistic conditions were entirely different in England and America from those in the Peninsula, where not even the most powerful paper was in a position "to subject itself to such an impost as could alone secure a complete and trustworthy service of news."

impression that the Maltese were Italians barbarously bereft of their mother-tongue, a doctrine as to which it knew the Italian would not be too critical, thanks to the Chauvinism in which he has been brought up from his earliest school-days. The very text-books of the elementary classes, in fact, lead him to believe that the mantle of Imperial Rome has fallen upon his shoulders, and that his remainder includes Malta as well as other parts of his neighbours' property—regions unjustly appropriated by the foreigner, and longing for that "redemption" which none but the House of Savoy can give.

Now, whatever may be said in the remaining cases for that standing danger to the peace of Europe, the so-called "Nationalist" theory—one of whose logical consequences is that Switzerland should be done away with, and the bulk of its inhabitants should be made over to Germany and France—it is quite inapplicable to the Maltese islands. After belonging to the Phœnicians, they passed first under the Greeks and next under the Carthaginians, from whom Rome eventually wrested them as a result of the Punic Wars. A Roman governor administered them, says Mr. Claude Lyon ("British Empire Series," vol. v., p. 97),\* "but a large amount of liberty was accorded to the people, who retained their own laws, customs, and institutions." So far, in other words, there was no idea of Italianizing Malta, and there can scarcely have been any attempt to do so on the part of those who succeeded Rome as its masters: the Saracens, Roger the Norman and his descendants, the German Empire, France, Aragon, the Kings of Sicily, the Emperor Charles V. and the Knights of St. John. The sentimental aspects of the question are no more in Italy's favour than the political. "The people are believed to be descended from the Phœnicians" (*op cit.*, p. 89), a stock upon which the grafts have been as motley as the races

\* Mr. Lyon's paper, it may be observed, is by no means controversial; was written at a time when the cry of the agitator was "seldom heard" (p. 99).

that successively owned the islands ; and even the exotic moneyed classes at the bottom of the pother have collected there from different parts of Europe. Neither is the language of the country Italian. Latin was the official tongue up to 1815, while the common speech is a dialect "so closely allied to Arabic that the people have no difficulty in conversing with the Arabs" (*ibid.*) and one, according to Signor Ugo Ojetti, a well-known Italian journalist, wherein : "hardly 20 per cent. of the words have an Italian root." Signor Ojetti further bears witness that "Italian is unknown to 80 per cent. of the Maltese," and that "their chief reason for defending [it] with so much warmth is that it is spoken in Rome ; if the Roman Curia spoke English, the question would perhaps have ceased to exist."

Clericalism, indeed, plays a leading part in the agitation. The Church, a large landholder, stands on much the same footing as the well-to-do inhabitants, in so far as neither pays any impost whatever on income or property ; local contributions towards the revenue consist almost entirely of import dues, and much more than their fair share falls upon the masses. Hence, as a correspondent of the *Morning Post* has explained, the wealthier classes opposed the introduction of English among the people, fearing that they "would agitate for a revision of taxation if they could read English newspapers," and "the Church also objected." The power of the native priesthood, again, like the monopoly of appointments and practice now secured to local civil servants, lawyers, and doctors, would be threatened by the spread of English ; naturally, therefore, all these professions banded together against it. The educated Maltese, themselves pretending to believe that their religion was being attacked, appealed to the ignorance and bigotry of the few voters—the so-called elected members only represent about 2 per cent. of the population, the majority not being allowed to vote because they do not know Italian—and persuaded them that the faith of the people was in danger. Moreover, witness the

spokesman of the reactionists in the House of Commons, it was because they thought it might lead to the abolition of Canon Law that they objected to English being adopted in the courts. As for the "Italian" education, by which so much store is set, it is "largely controlled by the priests" (*op cit.*, p. 87), and therefore not calculated to promote love of Italy. Such things should steadfastly be kept before anti-clerical papers like the *Gazzetta del Popolo*, in order to bring home to them how illogical is their sympathy with the Maltese malcontents.

But there are other people whose utter bad faith would render any appeal to them fruitless. Could anything but misstatements be expected, for example, from the Italian correspondent who telegraphed that the justice of the Maltese case was recognised in London, where the arguments in support of it had made a great impression; or from the publication capable of still insisting, after Italian journalism had been made fully aware of the abundant and conclusive disproof extant, that the Maltese were the fellow-countrymen of the Italians, and of repeating, amongst other exploded calumnies, that Mr. Chamberlain had attempted to deprive the Maltese of their birthright, the Italian language? Even in such cases, however, the dissemination of authentic news would have minimized the baneful effect of lies whose undisturbed possession of the field lent them the appearance of truth. In a word, British denunciation of every attempt to inflame the mind of the Italian public against us, if faithfully chronicled on the spot, could not fail to be of the greatest use in several ways.

Turning from Italy to Malta, the want of a medium for the interchange of ideas is doubtless at the bottom of the misunderstandings between its people and ourselves. Two years ago more persons already spoke and wrote English, the great commercial language, than spoke and wrote Italian, and even Signor Villari, an Italian advocate of the agitators, admitted that English "had become necessary



for all public offices," and that "it was impossible to live in Malta without it," thus accounting for the fact that "99 per cent." of the parents chose it as the tongue their children were to be taught in the schools. Everything points to its eventual diffusion, but are we to go on playing at cross-purposes meanwhile?

A journal for the people in their own language, Maltese—English and Italian readers are already catered for—might be made a powerful instrument for their education and for nailing to the counter the falsehoods of interested politicians, on condition that it was conducted by a competent staff, superior to scurrility and personalities. True, Maltese is not "literary" in the usual sense, but it is sufficiently so for the Bible to have been printed in it, and there seems to be no reason why it should not be adaptable to a newspaper. This might, for instance, point out the enormous advantages enjoyed by the people, particularly as compared with dwellers in Italy. Not that Malta has any wish to be annexed by that State; even the persons who "engineered" the complaints against Mr. Chamberlain's proclamation were actuated by motives entirely different from those attributed to them by the "Irredentists," as the Italian authorities themselves discovered when they instituted special inquiries into the matter (Rome correspondent of the *Morning Post*, May 15, 1902). But the discontent in the islands, say local observers, would vanish the moment the natives were "made aware how their Italian neighbours are weighed down by hardships of military service and by exorbitant taxation, and made aware also of the relative prices of tobacco, salt, sugar, and the like in the two countries," as well as of the fact that wages in Malta are double those in Italy. The contrast would be more striking still in respect of religious privileges. Not only are the Maltese exempt from anything even distantly resembling the anti-clerical legislation of France and Italy, but they have been permitted to retain institutions which, Mr. Chamberlain informed

Parliament during the discussion on the subject, "had not their parallel in any other Roman Catholic country in the world." A good vernacular paper could put these and a number of other points plainly before the people, knitting them closer to the Empire, and checkmating the artificial agitation employed to alienate them from us. It might also gradually pave the way for the abrogation of the enactment confining the suffrage to those who know Italian, and who are therefore most in touch with the adversaries of equitable government.

P.S.—The Italian papers continue to break out from time to time. Thus, on July 27, the *Corriere della Sera* devoted a leading article to the "Italianity" of the Maltese Islands, the noble strife of the Maltese "patriots" against the nation that "would fain substitute its language for ours there," and the like—a tissue of gratuitous assertions that should not be left unrefuted by the British press.

## GREATER AMERICA.

BY THE REV. C. POYNTZ SANDERSON, M.A.

WHEN Americans were on the look-out for principles to justify resistance to an oppression which had become intolerable, they found in the social theories of the eighteenth-century philosophers the moral justification of which they were in search. Across the Atlantic, as in their own country, the French philosophers destroyed that subservience of the mind which made men submit to oppression. The effect in America was remarkable. Driven by stress of circumstances to embrace the doctrines of the French writers, the Americans attributed to them an exaggerated importance, and their permanent value appeared to be enhanced by the immediate practical service which they had rendered. A passing phase of thought was stereotyped. Ideas which were really the qualification of others, and which themselves needed correction by a wider induction, received an artificial and an unreal sanctity as the principles of a great nation. Adopted as they have been without qualification, they have never been completely assimilated, and the Americans have but imperfectly succeeded in bringing them into relation with the facts of their national life. The result has been a permanent antagonism between the principles and practice of the American people. The theory of universal equality rings true when it is applied to a community of Anglo-Saxon farmers. But in the case of a society composed of great landholding proprietors supported by the labours of their slaves, it is little less than hypocrisy to talk of universal equality. From the very beginning, therefore, of American history there was an element of inconsistency and unreality in the national life which could not fail to have an unwholesome influence on the national character, and to affect injuriously the course

of events. Nor have the catastrophic struggles which attended the consolidation of the Union removed the incongruity. A black belt of millions of practically disfranchised negroes accords ill with the theory of democracy, nor do the Indian Reservations—imperfectly respected and indifferently administered—afford a happy illustration of the equal rights of all men. The Englishman noting this is apt to sneer; especially, if by actual training or personal predilection, he has become habituated to regarding the just government of inferior races as the chief glory of the British, is he inclined to regard his American cousins as degenerate backsliders from a great ideal. Mr. Colquhoun, however, checks the sneer. In his latest book, "*Greater America*,"\* he shows us America entangled in formulæ which imperfectly express the facts of life, and are in conflict with a vital law of her own being; and he explains the inconsistency which shocks or amuses Britons as the inevitable consequence of this contradiction. The American would make a better ruler were he not hampered by a false theory of universal equality. Secretly at war with himself in all his dealings with inferior races, his behaviour towards them is marred by those defects which are the signs of a mind ill at ease. "The history of the relations between Americans and the negroes and Indians," says Mr. Colquhoun (p. 287), "is a record of mistakes and failures which contrasts ill with their brilliant success in other ways." "If the American would acknowledge freely and honestly the breakdown of the democratic system, would accept his position as the dominant factor in a great republican empire, would cease to endeavour to square his theory with his practice, he might still advance along the paths of progress, might achieve the freest and most liberal form of government, but would still not be debarred from dealing justly with alien and subject races.

"The negro is a subject race. There is no proof of its

\* "*Greater America*," by Archibald R. Colquhoun. Harper and Brothers, London and New York, 1904.

incapacity to rise to higher things ; there is every proof that at present it is, as a mass, on a lower level of civilization than the white American. Instinct, which is stronger than logic, and common-sense, which is better than theory, tell us two things about the negro. First, that race-fusion between him and the white man is not the solution of the problem ; secondly, that unless he is provided with a legitimate ambition in life, he will find an illegitimate one" (p. 24).

The inconsistency to which we have referred as being so deeply rooted in the American character through the unfortunate adoption in the childhood of the nation of a one-sided and inadequate principle is emphasized by the extraordinary contradiction between the enthusiasm with which Americans have taken up the cause of Cubans and Filippinoes, and their behaviour towards their own fellow-citizens when these latter are of negro blood.

"The necessity for a proper adjustment of racial relations," says Mr. Colquhoun in a fine passage, "has become a burning question. The writer pleads with his American cousins for a fairer and more open consideration of the subject, and for its re-adjustment on rational, honest, and truthful lines. Treat the negro as a subject race, but remember that a subject race has rights. Draw the line of colour as strongly as you will, but do not treat the black man as if he were not human. The white men own the American continent ; they have every right to dictate to others the terms on which they shall inhabit it ; but for their own sakes, if for no higher motive, they should see that those terms will be such as self-respecting people can accept. It may be said that the negro is not self-respecting ; if so, the terms of existence should be regulated so as to arouse in him that sentiment which is the only basis for a useful life" (pp. 25, 26).

These are noble words, as remarkable for their generosity as for their practical common-sense. Nor are they inopportune. The march of events has compelled attention to the

relations between Americans and races of a lower civilization and inferior type.

The mixed American race (the chapter in which Mr. Colquhoun shows how mixed it is is one of the most interesting in the book), a new strain formed by the combination of many foreign elements with the old British breed, has entered on a career of oversea expansion, and has at last emerged from its isolation. America has finally taken her place among the great Powers of the world. Cuba, Puerto Rico, the Philippines, Samoa, have been all drawn within the circle of American power and influence. For all of them America has made herself responsible. The new canal across the Isthmus of Panama, which is to unite the Atlantic and the Pacific, will be the source of yet further responsibilities.

"A fresh problem in controlling a tropical region will arise in Panama. Without any question of military occupation, there will be needed a strong police force to maintain order. Negroes are the only possible material for such a force, since the climate is very unhealthy for white men, and the Columbians are unsuitable" (p. 356).

Mr. Colquhoun thinks that only the West Indian negroes can provide the material required.

"The West Indian negro is not only strong physically, but he is docile, willing, and brave, when disciplined and led. But he will require different treatment and handling to that usually meted out by Americans to negroes. He understands neither the American freedom of manner nor the strong contempt with which his race is treated in America. It is again the question of a high class of officers."

The need is the same in every American dependency, whether in the West or in the East. Americans must realize that a new duty has been laid upon them, and respond to the demand which a new situation and fresh circumstances have made on the national character.

"America has now to provide inducements to the very

best of her sons to serve abroad as police officers, military instructors, civil servants, and so forth. Only by the very best can Greater America be worthily served" (p. 357).

The term "Greater America," as Mr. Colquhoun uses it, is fraught with many meanings. It denotes, as we have seen, what may be called the "American Empire," the sway exercised by the United States in the Pacific and the Caribbean, alike over territories which, like the Philippines, are avowedly administered by Americans, and regions which, like the island of Cuba, enjoy a nominal independence. It also signifies the hegemony of the United States in all the divisions of the great American continent, and it gives the author an opportunity for an acute and able discussion of the prospects of the absorption into the Union of the Dominion of Canada. This chapter is very well worth reading. English-speaking Canadians are animated by three distinct strains of sentiment. There is the grand old tradition of loyalty to the British Crown, blended and enriched in the minds of some Canadians with the modern faith in the Empire; there is the attraction inevitably exercised by the neighbourhood of the Great Republic; and, lastly, there is a sentiment which is neither American nor British, but Canadian, the dawning consciousness of a young nation. Together with ideas that belong to the region of sentiment and feeling, mingling with them and acting upon and being in turn influenced by their reaction, are considerations whose character is industrial and commercial. Shall industrial Canada look eastward and westward, or shall it set its face towards the South? What is the true line of commercial activity\* for the young Canadian State? Which are the real trade routes that Canadians should establish and develop? The answer to these questions still hangs in the balance, and it is not easy to overestimate its effect upon the future. Will the Canadians of the future be absorbed in the commercial system of the United States, or will they be members of

an Imperial system, drawing closer and closer their connection with Great Britain, and becoming partners in the continued extension of British trade in the East?

This, as Mr. Colquhoun thinks, is the alternative. The conditions prevailing at the present moment are, as he believes, of a transitory character, but though temporary they are nevertheless critical, and the steps taken now will be decisive of the future. Canada cannot stand alone. She may be left to drift into commercial alliance with the United States, which will be followed in due course by political absorption. On the other hand, Great Britain may so modify her commercial policy as to make a place for Canada in the industrial system of the Empire, and harmonize the material interests of the Dominion with those memories of the past and aspirations for the future which form her spiritual heritage.

"The writer has tried to make plain the grounds on which he founds his belief that action of some kind both to stimulate Canada's progress and to knit her closer to us is of urgent necessity. Upon our relations with Canada in the present depends the trend of her future development. Upon the amount of influence with her which we retain depends that to be exercised by the United States."

"Canada must have reciprocity either with us or with the United States."

"If Great Britain persists in her present commercial policy she will see a reciprocity treaty between Canada and the United States obtained by the sacrifice of purely British interests in the Dominion, and the consequence would be, not only closer commercial union, but the beginnings of political assimilation."

A fourth strain in the blend of Canadian sentiment is furnished by the French Canadians. Loyalty in the British sense it is perhaps too much to expect from the descendants of the men who fought under Montcalm and were vanquished by Wolfe. Yet the writer of this article has been told by one in a position to know that



the temperature of French loyalty was appreciably higher twenty years ago than is the case at the present time. It is strange that it should be so at a time when a French Canadian, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, has risen to one of the greatest positions in the British Empire, and holds the premiership, not of the French province merely, but of the whole vast "Dominion" of Canada. Whether or not, however, the growth of the Imperial sentiment among ourselves has led to a corresponding reaction among our French fellow-citizens, there is no doubt that the latter realize that they are better off in the British Empire than they would be in the American Union. The priests also, who in French Canada, as in South America, are a potent factor in political life, know that the tone of public opinion in the United States and the general feeling of Americans would militate against the influence, which, under present conditions, they are able to exercise on politics.

In South America, as in Canada, the influence of the Roman Catholic Church tells against the Union. Pan-Americanism, in spite of four or five conferences, is, indeed, in South America a mere sentiment, exercising little practical effect. Commercial considerations tell against the Union. Trade with the United States declines, while that with Europe increases. South America, as Mr. Colquhoun points out, "is complimentary to Europe, but would be, to a great extent, an intruder in North American markets." Two hundred million pounds sterling have been invested by Europeans in South America, while the total amount of American capital invested there does not exceed 15 million dollars, or about 3 millions sterling. In all South America there is not a single United States Bank. All the banks, with the exception of a small French one, are in the hands of English or Germans.

There is, in truth, little in common between South and North America. There is, indeed, one sense in which the term "Pan-Americanism" has a definite meaning. The United States is not unwilling to pose as the champion of

her weaker neighbours ; and when a South American State gets into difficulties it is glad enough to run for shelter to the ægis of the Great Republic. Here, however, the affair ends. "South America is not prepared to forfeit any of her initiative, or to loosen the bonds which tie her to Europe, where her republics stand on equal terms with independent Powers, in favour of a subordinate position in the family of American States."

The time may come when 'Americans will have to face the question how far they will extend their protection over the South American Republics. Power cannot exist without responsibility. It may be better to leave some of the Southern States to get out of their difficulties by themselves than to be perpetually interfering between South America and a justly incensed Europe. "The practical question is, How far south is the United States prepared to follow the Monroe Doctrine? . . . A great nation is never greater than when it recognises its true limitations, and the United States has to strain herself to the utmost to be successful in what she has already undertaken. . . . A complete revolution of prevailing conditions must take place before the United States can occupy the place she claims in the Southern continent. Whether she will be wise to pursue the Will-o'-the-wisp of an 'American hegemony' is a question which deeply affects the future of Greater America."

An important section of Mr. Colquhoun's book is of the nature of a digression. The sixteenth chapter, which is headed "Asia in Transformation," is, nevertheless, of great importance, but its utility has changed in character since it was written. Then it was the forecast of a trained observer looking out on Eastern Asia. Now its value lies in the assistance which it affords in attaining to a right understanding of the great events which have taken place, and which are at this moment taking place, under our eyes, in adjusting ethical values, and in judging of the effect of recent changes on the future of America and of Great

Britain. When Mr. Colquhoun's book went to press the Russo-Japanese War had, indeed, begun, and some initial successes had been won by the Island Power, but the balance of strength was far from clear; while the general standpoint from which Asiatic affairs are treated is that of a still earlier period—that which immediately preceded the war. Reading it in the light of subsequent events, we find in it a vindication of Japanese policy, and also, what is to us of more immediate importance, a justification of Lord Curzon's policy in Tibet. The rapid expansion of Russia and its inevitable results, if it is allowed to continue unchecked, are clearly set forth, though Mr. Spencer Wilkinson and Mr. Colquhoun himself, in his earlier works, had already made plain the drift of Russian policy, and the consequences which it entailed. There is an instructive reference to Russian intrigues in Tibet. "Russian scientific missions have been busy in Tibet for many years," the writer tells us. "One of the professors at the St. Petersburg University, M. Zylihoff, a Buriat by birth, has not only visited, but resided in Lhasa as a lama, and he asserts that Buriats, Kalmuchs, and Mongols of the Russian dominion receive their priests from Tibet, and send their youths to be trained in Lhasa, thus keeping up a constant stream of communication with the city, which is, in fact, 'forbidden' only to foreigners who are not Russian subjects."

A very interesting passage, partly quoted from the late Mr. Michie's book, "*The Englishman in China*," describes the early commercial rivalry in the Far East between British and America fifty years ago, in the days of the American clippers, "beautiful to look on with their clouds of white cotton canvas"; "built and rigged like yachts, and attaining a speed never before reached on the high seas." But this is ancient history. The serious student of politics will turn rather to the paragraphs which describe the changed conditions which characterize the renewal of American action in the Far East. "The second period of American activity in the Pacific has led her back to contend

once more, on very different terms, for the markets of the Far East. No longer is Britain practically the only competitor ; no longer is that vast region a *terra incognita* waiting only for Occidental enterprise, and affording unlimited scope for the merchant adventurer. The transformation of Asia is nowhere more evident than in the Far Eastern section of that continent, and the main features in that change are the advance of Russia and the renaissance of Japan." The latter is the only Power which, as Mr. Colquhoun reminds us, is really "at home" in the Far East. Great Britain, indeed, has a strong base and great resources in India. France and Germany have interests and even territory. The modern French Empire of the East is, indeed, of great territorial extent ; but the maintenance of their interests and the protection of their territories in the Far East depend, not on the force actually available on the spot, but on the balance of power in Europe. Such, at least, was the case until a few months ago, before the appearance of Japan upon the world's stage as a naval and military Power of the first class had altered the centre of gravity, and placed France and Germany in the position of those who have given hostages to Fortune. The position of Russia was different. She had pushed on to the Pacific coast by a rapid process of annexation, succeeded by what promised at first to be the equally rapid and successful process of absorption. By means of the Siberian Railway she had linked up her latest acquisitions with St. Petersburg. But she had not assimilated them. Events have shown under what a disadvantage she is placed by the distance, from her base, and how imperfectly she is able to make use of her resources. Russia is hampered by the vast distances which even the railway cannot abolish. But Japan is on the spot. "All that Japan has of resources, interest, power, or prestige, is contained in the North China Sea. Russia has reached that sea by contiguous expansion, and has placed," by the construction of the Siberian Railway, "the outlying part of her Empire in direct and rapid touch

with the brain-power at St. Petersburg." Yet the railway cannot countervail Japan's inherent advantages of natural situation and geographical position.

The situation is one in which both America and England are closely concerned. The two English-speaking Powers should act together. The present time, while the war still continues, should be utilized for the exchange of views so that the two Powers may be in a position to co-operate together when the conflict terminates.

Frank though Mr. Colquhoun is in his criticism of Americans, he is no less frank in the avowal of his desire for an Anglo-American understanding. The two countries, he considers, have many interests in common in the Far East, and should act in concert in support of a common policy. In his closing pages he suggests another ground of co-operation. A pregnant sentence describes the uneasiness aroused in America by German views on Holland. Should the Dutch Queen die childless, the future of her country will be matter of close concern to England. If the severed branches of our race are really in earnest in seeking a ground of co-operation, they might find it in a mutual understanding on the future of Holland and of the Dutch East Indian Empire.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

THE annual meeting was held at the offices on June 24, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., presiding. Among those present were Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., Mr. Robert Sewell, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S., Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. J. S. McConechy, Chowdhry Dhalip Singh Sharma, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Secretary.

On the proposal of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Buckland, the annual report and accounts were adopted and passed. Mr. Sewell's proposition that in future the capital of the Association should appear in the accounts was agreed to. The donation of twenty guineas from Surgeon-Major John Ince was notified. The three retiring members of the Council—Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, and Mr. T. H. Thornton, were duly elected—on the proposal of the Chairman, seconded by Chowdhry Dhalip Singh Sharma. The election of Lord Reay, C.C.S.I., LL.D., etc., as President for the ensuing year was carried with acclamation, on the proposal of the Chairman, seconded by Mr. Thornton.

Sir Lepel Griffin mentioned that Mr. Rees was going to lecture on tea, with special reference to the recent addition to the tax on that commodity. He hoped that the Ceylon Association would send representatives, and that a fruitful discussion would follow. Ceylon is equally interested with India in that industry, so that the voice of India and Ceylon may be heard simultaneously in their respective interests.

Sir Mackworth Young's proposed lecture on the Punjab, including the North-West Province, has been unavoidably postponed to the next session, when Mr. Thorburn proposes to lecture on the fiscal policy as it affects India. It is hoped that other papers will also be read on the subject, and an exhaustive discussion, if need be continued over two or three meetings.

The income for the year, including a balance at banker's and in hand of £285 os. 8d., is £573 6s. 9d., and the expenditure £393 18s. 7d., leaving a balance to the credit of the Association of £179 8s. 2d.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION, 1904.

THE Council of the East India Association beg to submit the Report for the year 1903-1904.

The year under review has been one of special interest to the Indian Empire, which has shown its astonishing recuperative power in a rapid recovery of prosperity after the terrible losses of successive years of famine, although the efforts of medical science to subdue the plague have been so far ineffectual. The war between Russia and Japan, whatever its ultimate result, must have a great and lasting effect upon India and the countries immediately adjoining (China, Siam, Afghanistan, and Persia), though the time has not come when this subject can be discussed with advantage or the final issue suggested.

A subject which intimately concerns the past action and present attitude of the East India Association with regard to British Indian residents in South Africa is the long controversy in Parliament and the Press on the employment of Chinese labour in the Transvaal. This Association is in no way concerned with the political interests which have been so largely engaged in the discussion, and does not dispute the propriety of the British and Chinese Governments making such arrangements with the colony, regarding the terms on which Chinese labour should be introduced, as may seem to them just and suitable to the special circumstances of the case. But the Association, mindful of its long defence of the rights of Indians in South Africa, cannot refrain from observing that the efforts of those who have shown themselves so eager to defend Chinamen from irksome conditions of employment, of which neither they nor the Government have complained, would have been exerted more logically and beneficially in

removing the gross and unjust disabilities which colonial legislation and trade-union sentiment have imposed upon Indian settlers in the South African colonies. The Association maintains, and will continue to assert, that the Indians, who are a well-conducted, loyal, industrious, intelligent, and highly-civilized people, are entitled to the same commercial and legal rights as other British subjects throughout the Empire; and if the Government of India and the Colonial Office are indisposed or unable to obtain for them a recognition of those rights, this Association will not refrain from protesting against their inaction.

Another subject of great importance to India and of grave concern to the Association is the imposition of a heavy additional tax on tea, which has been already incidentally discussed at the Association, and will, it is hoped, be dealt with in a special paper hereafter. The policy of burthening a new and promising Indian industry with crushing taxation, instead of obtaining the necessary revenue from foreign imports or from some article of home consumption more obnoxious to public health and order than tea, is challenged by the Association as opposed to all reasonable economical doctrine, and a direct injustice to India. Some public indignation was expressed at the imposition of higher rates on Indian tea imported into Persia; but the Association fails to see how complaint can be justly levied at Russia or Persia in this matter when the British Government itself, with less or no excuse, deals a still heavier blow at the Indian tea trade.

This question forms part of the larger subject of revenue reform which the Prime Minister and Mr. Chamberlain have, from different points of view, been placing before the country for future decision. The East India Association will, it is hoped, take an active and intelligent part in the discussion; and it is of importance to note that from the fact that its constitution is eminently non-political, and that its members include men of the highest eminence in the administrative and industrial life of India, the Association



may claim for its deliberations an impartial authority which is wanting to party discussions elsewhere. No question of such moment to India exists as the method of her treatment as a part of the British Empire in the matter of Free Trade, Preferential Treatment, or Protection; and the East India Association will endeavour to insure that the voice of India be fully heard and her interests fairly considered. The Association, which holds no theory and supports no party, will insist that these interests shall be held to be the first and not the second object in the discussion; and that the recent sacrifice of an Indian industry shall not be taken as a precedent for further unjust treatment of the greatest, the wealthiest, and by far the most important member of the British Empire. The Council of the Association trusts that these remarks may be seriously considered by its many members of authority and experience, official and non-official, British and Indian, and that in the coming session it may be possible to have papers read on the several sides of the question, followed by fruitful discussion, which may influence the final decision in the true interests of India.

In January last the Association presented a memorial to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, urging the desirability of increasing the educational facilities of the Tamil children employed in the tea plantations of Ceylon. This representation, taken on the initiative of and after the reading of a paper by Mr. A. G. Wise, formerly a tea-planter in Ceylon, has attracted much sympathy and attention in South India and Ceylon, and has been favourably considered by the Government.

The litigation in Bombay regarding the funds of the Association held in the Bank of Bombay, to which allusion was made in last year's report, has been terminated by the removal of these funds to England, where they have been placed under the trusteeship of two members of the Council. It was a matter of some surprise to the Council that the Judge, in deciding the case in favour of the

Association, directed that the costs of the defendants should be paid out of the trust fund.

Up to the present time the following papers have been read before the Association during the past session :

Tuesday, July 14, 1903. Romesh Dutt, Esq., C.I.E., "The Peasant Proprietors of India." The Right Hon. Leonard Courtney in the chair.

Monday, November 2, 1903. T. Durant Beighton, Esq., I.C.S., "The Modern History of Trial by Jury in India." The Right Hon. Sir Andrew Scoble, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

Monday, December 7, 1903. A. G. Wise, Esq. (late of Ceylon), "Education in Ceylon: A Plea for Estate Schools." Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., in the chair.

Monday, March 21, 1904. W. Hughes, Esq., M.L.C.E. (late Chief Engineer for Irrigation, Madras), "Madras Irrigation and Indian Irrigation Policy." J. D. Rees, Esq., C.I.E., in the chair.

Wednesday, May 18, 1904. Frank Birdwood, Esq., "The Empire's Greatest Commercial Asset." Ernest Cable, Esq., in the chair, and adjourned discussion of above on May 25.

Monday, June 6, 1904. F. H. Skrine, Esq., "The Benares Mutiny of 1799: A Study in Eighteenth-Century Politics." Major-General Sir Edwin Collen, G.C.I.E., C.B., in the chair.

The following members of Council retire by rotation according to terms of Article 12. They are eligible, and offer themselves for re-election :

Lesley Probyn, Esq. .

F. Loraine Petre, Esq.

T. H. Thornton, Esq., C.S.I., D.C.L.

F. H. Skrine, Esq., James S. McConechy, Esq., Chowowdhey Dalip Singh Sharma, William Hughes, Esq.,

John Pollen, Esq., LL.D., C.I.E., and C. E. Buckland, Esq., C.I.E., have been elected members of the Association.

Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., the Right Hon. Sir J. West Ridgeway, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., Sir Frederic W. R. Fryer, K.C.S.I., and Mr. T. Durant Beighton have been elected members of the Council of the Association.

The Council regret to have to report the death of two members—F. R. Fernandez, Esq., and C. G. Masters, Esq.

LEPEL GRIFFIN,  
*Chairman.*

C. W. ARATHOON,  
*Hon. Sec.*

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS.

At a meeting held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Friday, June 24, 1904, a paper was read by J. B. Pennington, Esq., B.L. (Cantab.), on "A Suggestion for the Abolition of the Salt Monopoly." Dr. Jonathan Hutchinson, LL.D., F.R.S., in the chair. The following, among others, were present: Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., D.C.L., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Dr. Pennington, Lieutenant-Colonel Damania, Dr. J. A. Mills, Mr. L. Hutchinson, Mr. J. D. Rees, C.I.E., Mr. Robert Sewell, M.R.A.S., Mr. J. S. McConechy, Madame de Sâtgé de Thoren and the Misses De Thoren, Miss Pringle, Miss Regina Nágel, Mrs. Garling Drury, Mr. A. C. Swinton, Mr. C. E. Buckland, C.I.E., Chowdhry Dalipsingh Sharma, Mr. T. D. Zal, Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. Aráthoon, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. R. K. Puckle, C.I.E., Mr. B. A. Cooper, Mr. M. B. Carie, Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Mr. A. Eggar, Miss Burke, Mr. J. M. Robertson, Mr. E. L. F. Cavendish, Mr. J. Hyder (Secretary Land Nationalization Society), Raizada Hans Raj, Mr. Brudenell Carter, F.R.C.S., Dr. Bhaba, Mr. P. Kershasp, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. C. W. Arathoon (Hon. Sec.).

The CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, I am indebted for the honour of having been asked by the Council of your Association to preside on the present occasion to the fact that I have for long taken interest in advocating the liberal use of salt as an article of diet. During a recent tour in India, with the object of investigating the subject of leprosy, I became increasingly impressed with the great importance of the removal of the tax on salt which is there in force, and felt it my duty to make such representations as I could to those in power. The reply was that the tax was important to the India Revenue, and that it was the only one which the peasant took any share in.

The Indian Government has, indeed, for long been aware of the strong objections to this tax which are entertained by medical men and dietetic sanitarians, and has already made praiseworthy efforts to mitigate the evil. At the present time salt may be procured by the large fish-curing establishments free of duty, and quite recently a reduction of 25 per cent. has been made in the rate of taxation generally. These boons do not, however, fully meet the case, and it was with great pleasure that I heard from the Secretary of your Society that Mr. Pennington was prepared to bring forward a practical proposal which was likely to remove the financial difficulties which are now allowed to prevent the entire removal of this hurtful impost. It is to that proposal that we are now about to listen. I am myself no financier, and it would be going quite out of my proper sphere if I were to venture any opinion as to the suitability of Mr. Pennington's proposals. In the present state of unrest as to fiscal doctrine it will not be very surprising if someone should contend

that to tax an article of consumption in any moderate way is the best method of insuring its use. On that point I give no opinion, but this I may assert, that throughout India during my recent tour I met with but one expression of creed, and that was to the effect that the three or four millions now paid as salt tax in India does exercise a very prejudicial influence in restricting the use of salt by the poorer part of the population. Native practitioners were most emphatic in urging this, and over and over again the importance of the entire repeal of the tax was urged upon me. I may, probably, in the discussion which is to follow find opportunity for speaking in more detail as to certain special points. I will now call upon Mr. Pennington to read his paper.

The paper was then read.\*

The CHAIRMAN : If I endeavour to state the reasons which induce me as a member of the medical profession to advocate without any regard to loss of revenue the total repeal of the salt tax in India, it will perhaps be expected by those who know the conclusions on that subject at which I have arrived that I should begin with leprosy. I will not, however, on the present occasion go further in that direction than simply state that a large body of evidence has been accumulated which tends to show that in some way leprosy is caused by the consumption of unsound fish, and that a more abundant supply of salt would lead to better curing of fish. As, however, that creed is not as yet generally accepted by the profession, I shall pass it by for the present, and be content to allege, what no one will doubt, that badly-cured fish is unwholesome, and that it is a matter of great importance to health to restrict its consumption and to supersede it by that which is sound. The fact that salt is now supplied to the large fish factories in India free of duty is a recognition of this. But it does not go far enough. In India a few hours suffice to make fish unwholesome, and the salting needs to be done very promptly. At certain seasons of the year fish is caught all over the country, and abortive attempts at its preservation are made. It is not only in the large factories, but in the home of the peasant, that cheap and pure salt is for this purpose a necessity. Nor is it only for fish that it is required, for many other articles of food, vegetable as well as animal, are kept sweet by salt. Salt is indeed the great restrainer of decomposition, the foe to almost all forms of bacterial life. It has been thought by some observers that the free use of salt is to some extent preventive of both cholera and plague. The evidence is, however, not conclusive, but we may accept it as a general proposition that a well-salted blood is likely to be less favourable to the free development of all parasitic germs than one deficient in salt. That the moderate or even free use of salt is favourable to digestion and increases the nutritive value of most forms of food is rendered highly probable by physiological chemistry as well as by general experience. Part of the salt taken into the stomach is there made to yield hydrochloric acid and carbonate of soda. The former is a direct solvent of most articles of food, and thus assists the gastric juice, whilst the latter procures the elimination of salts which might prove injurious. There is good

\* For paper see p. 1.

reason to suspect—I will not put it more strongly—that deficiency of salt in the food taken is the most efficient cause of the prevalence of stone in the bladder. Not only does salt supply a base for uric acid and thus keep it in solution, but it prevents the formation of the colloids which serve as the uniting medium in the production of calculi. I do not bring forward these views for the first time on the present occasion. They will be found fully expressed in the essay accompanying the fasciculus of the New Sydenham Society's Atlas devoted to calculi. In this article, published in 1888, the well-known fact that under the old régime sailors who then lived largely on salt food were immune from stone, and the corroborative opinions of Dr. Plowright and Dr. Bence Jones, are cited. I would therefore, with these considerations in view, venture to plead earnestly for the prompt and entire removal of the Indian tax on salt, and that without any regard to the financial aspects of the question. It is the very first of the negative duties of the Government to see that it does nothing to injure the health of those under its care. Now, in this tax a blow is aimed at the stamina of the whole population, and the risk is encountered of the production wholesale of certain special and most distressing diseases. We may remember that our great Example, seeking for a simile by which to express the value of the spiritual influence of His disciples, could find none better than by declaring, "Ye are the salt of the earth." No attempt to realize the full force of that comparison can, I believe, take us too far in our estimate of the physical value of the substance concerned. We have just listened to an able exposition of a scheme by which this most injurious tax may be abolished without loss to revenue. If, however, no such scheme were forthcoming, I would still say, and probably I might speak for the whole profession, that the tax ought to be abrogated. Not only may it be urged that health comes before all else, but it may be suggested that in the end there would be, as there always is in well-considered sanitary reforms, a pecuniary saving. Ill-health and want of vigour are very costly to the community in which they occur.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN: In opening the discussion, which I hope will be an interesting one, I will first say that I have listened to this paper, which certainly seems to me more academical than practical, with a great deal of interest. The learned gentleman who does us the honour to take the chair at the meeting to-day, and to whose observations we have listened with respect, has gone a little beyond the terms of the lecture, and, indeed, I am not sure that his position is not more logical than that of the lecturer himself. I can quite understand any person, whether he has a practical knowledge of the subject—which many of us in this room do possess—or not, advocating the abolition of the salt tax altogether, but that is not the object of this paper. If it were, there are many things which one might at once say. I would urge that poverty is a mere comparative term; that the poor of India are probably not nearly so poor actually as the poor of England; that every man in a country should bear some measure of the burden of its defence and administration; that the salt tax is practically the only tax, putting aside the land revenue, which is no tax at all, which is paid by the peasant in India. If he likes

to drink, or wear clothes made in Manchester, of course he pays in some degree Abkari, or Customs revenue upon them, but the salt tax is practically the only tax on the people of India generally. But this is not the object of the lecturer. I cannot help suggesting that his position is an illogical one. He goes entirely against the economical law that it is better to have indirect than direct taxation. Speaking as an official, who, as Secretary of a Government in succession to Mr. Thornton here, whose opinions may probably coincide with mine, and subsequently in charge of the whole of Central India, where negotiations for abolishing the salt tax in Native States were carried out, with none of the terrible oppression which our friend has described, but to the full satisfaction of all the Native States concerned, I say that my experience is that there has been no complaint on the part of the people in any part of the country with which I myself am acquainted. I may say that the salt tax is the one thing in India connected with the English Administration against which no person raises his voice. I do not remember, in twenty or thirty years' experience of administration in several parts of India, to have heard any expression of dislike or complaint of this salt tax. This is a fact which, if you doubt my word, you may dispute, but this is what I say. For this indirect taxation, which nobody feels, the lecturer would propose a universal income tax, which, as far as my experience of India goes, would cause a revolution in the course of six months. If there is one thing in India which the people do dislike, it is the income tax. It only affects a very small portion of the population, say five or ten per cent.; it only affects the well-to-do people, and does not affect the great body of the population at all. Under our friend's proposals we should have the tax-gatherer in every house. Instead of a peasant paying what he pays now for salt, the exactions of an inspector or collector going to every household and collecting from every head of a family would probably double or quadruple the cost of salt, and increase one hundredfold the annoyance which now, I say, is almost inappreciable. In every household you would have oppression; in every household you would have complaint, and, instead of doing good by abolishing an indirect tax and putting on a direct one, you would have one of the greatest misfortunes which could happen to the people of India. As to the medical part of the question, I say nothing; I am not competent to discuss it, and I will leave that to other gentlemen. (Applause.)

MR. J. D. REES said he thoroughly agreed with what Sir Lepel Griffin had said as to the tax not being so injurious as was represented. In his service in India the salt tax was one of the few taxes he had never heard complained about to any very great extent. It seemed to him that a universal income tax such as was suggested would be odious to all classes of the population, and he believed that it could only result in positive disaster. Over and above the fact that direct taxation was far more oppressive than indirect taxation in every country, and perhaps more than elsewhere in India, where it introduced a low paid official into the houses of all the people in the country, he also believed it to be a complete overstatement on Mr. Pennington's part to say: "The people are obliged to

eat or die, and for want of salt many of them, I believe, do literally die." He (Mr. Rees) did not know that the medical men in India made statements to the effect that people died for want of salt.

MR. PENNINGTON: I quote medical men, you know, in the paper. You will find Dr. Furnell and Dr. Ratton mentioned.

MR. REES said, with all respect for Dr. Furnell's authority, he considered that to be a great overstatement of the case; but if it were bold of him to doubt a statement made by Mr. Pennington, (because he had been one of Mr. Pennington's subordinates), he must indeed be daring and rash to venture to differ in any way with the distinguished gentleman in the chair. Dr. Hutchinson had said that the want of sufficient salt for the proper curing of fish led to the prevalence of leprosy. Upon that point a great deal of evidence had been taken, and the chairman had himself admitted opinions were divided. He (Mr. Rees) believed, however, that the balance of opinions at the present, if they were to be counted and not weighed, was against Dr. Hutchinson's theory. Dr. Hutchinson, in a letter to the *Times*, said that the fishermen on the South Indian coast are chiefly Roman Catholics, and because the Romish Church prescribes the eating of fish, and because leprosy is so common amongst these men on the coast, these facts proved his theory, that the eating of badly-cured fish led to leprosy. Now, first of all, the Roman Catholic Church in no way prescribed the eating of fish; it simply ordained that on certain days there should be fasting from flesh meat, and the rich, on such days, abstained from meat and ate fish; but amongst the people whose diet does not generally include either meat or fish, no such rule could produce any effect. For instance, in the Central Provinces, where fish-eating does not prevail at all, leprosy was extremely prevalent amongst certain classes of the population. Nor could any such rule affect people whose flesh diet was generally fish, for they ate it every day. He did not fall into the error of supposing that the people of India were all vegetarians. The majority would eat fish or flesh if they could get it, but those who were flesh eaters were flesh eaters, and never on fast days substituted fish for flesh, so that the Church's rule would reduce the eating of fish if it had any appreciable effect at all. But the fact was it had practically no effect one way or another. He submitted that up to the present there was no proof that the eating of fish led to leprosy. In Burmah, where the people were fairly healthy, one of the most popular articles of diet was the rottenest fish that could be found, but it had not been shown that this diet conduced to the prevalence of leprosy.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, it does, very largely. The eating of bad fish is very common in Burmah, and the prevalence of leprosy is very common.

MR. REES said from these facts no conclusion as to cause and effect could be drawn, and he continued by saying that rotten fish in Burmah, like cheese in this country which had reached a certain state of decomposition, was considered a delicacy. It was not to be supposed that the eating of rotten fish in Burmah was characteristic of the poor only. He had been connected with a Burmese family in India, and their only complaint



was that no rotten or badly-cured fish could be found for their consumption among the flesh-pots with which they were furnished. It might be thought that this family lived in poverty and under circumstances in which so unsavoury a diet might lead to leprosy, but, in point of fact, they were the last King and Queen of Burmah and their attendants. For these reasons he thought that considerable doubt was thrown on that portion of Dr. Hutchinson's theory. He would only add that when Mr. Pennington made certain remarks about the interference of the British Government in the action of the Independent Native States, while he fully accepted what Sir Lepel Griffin said about the manner in which the salt monopoly was introduced into the Native States of Central India, he also thought that the British Government did not hesitate to spell the word "independent" with the smallest possible "i" whenever it sought to introduce any measure of any sort or kind into any Native State in any part of India. (Applause.) And the local governments were far more prone to exercise such pressure than the Government of India.

MR. S. S. THORBURN said it seemed to him that all taxation was objectionable, but the salt tax was peculiarly so, because it was a tax upon a necessity of life to the extent of eight or nine times the value, and it fell both relatively and absolutely far more heavily upon the poorer than the richer classes. On the other hand, it was easily collected, and was a sort of income tax, which reached every household almost without the payer perceiving it. In his long service he had never heard objection raised to the salt tax—*i.e.*, to the high price of salt—by the peasantry, but, at the same time, if what had been stated by the chairman and the lecturer were true, there was a full case for a Commission of Inquiry, because, if those things were correct, the salt tax ought to be abolished at all cost. The first duty of the Government was to regard the health of its subjects. He did not think that the peasants stinted themselves in the use of salt. Only recently a man of considerable attainments had told him that some years ago he had discovered the elixir of life, or the means of retaining perpetual youth—he might say perpetual middle age. On being questioned as to what it was, he said, "I gave up salt, and since I gave it up I have not grown a day older." He further said that in one of his tours to the East he came back saturated with malaria, and after trying all the doctors in this country he went to some German bad, and sat in brine baths and flooded his inside with salt water, with the result that he became as well salted as a Westphalia ham, and entirely got rid of his malaria. (Laughter.) As regards the hardship of the salt tax, when he (Mr. Thorburn) was Assistant Commissioner in charge of Mianwali, the salt officers used to send up for trial the owners of cattle on the charge that whilst their cattle was passing along the highroad the animals licked the salt rocks which abutted on the roads about Korlabagd. Further, if anyone built a cottage and used the rocks for foundations or walls, informers used to tell the salt officers, and if salt was found a prosecution followed. As regards the remedy proposed by the lecturer, he thought it was outside the region of useful discussion; while the salt tax was a sort of indirect income tax, the lecturer proposed as its substitute a direct

universal graduated income tax, from six annas to two or three rupees. But how was it to be collected? Where was the establishment to come from? He was afraid it was quite impossible. He would make one suggestion which was practical. It was admitted that the cattle of India were salt-starved. Some thirty-four years ago Dr. Warth, Commissioner of Salt Revenue, told him that the Government, recognising the necessity of giving cattle free salt, if possible, had for years advertised a reward of a lac of rupees to anyone who should combine salt with some substance in such a way that it should be unpalatable for human beings, but suitable for cattle. He could not see why it should be outside the range of chemistry to discover some combination of salt which would meet the requirements of the case. (Applause.)

MR. THORNTON agreed with Sir L. Griffin and Mr. Rees, that the proposed substitute for the salt tax would be open to great objection—in fact, a remedy worse than the disease. The salt tax, however open to theoretical objection, had the inestimable advantage of being a tax leviable from the masses without the intervention of the tax-gatherer, and one, moreover, to which the people had been accustomed from time immemorial. At the same time, if means could be devised, as suggested by Mr. Thorburn, for providing untaxed salt for cattle, and for meeting evils clearly proved to result from short consumption of salt, it would be a great benefit; but the total abolition of the Indian salt tax was a proposition, he feared, almost as academical as the abolition of our income tax.

The CHAIRMAN: Mr. Thorburn presses me to reply to his question, whether it would be possible to prepare a cheap salt for cattle which should not be capable of being eaten by human beings—a cheap salt for cattle and a dear salt for man. I do not know of one, and if I did I would not tell.

MR. P. KERSHASP said he was in a position to correct a misapprehension which existed in the minds of the speakers as to the fact of there being no complaint of the salt tax; the contrary was the fact. Some years ago the monopoly system was entirely changed; the State used to let out on lease the salt-pans to tenants, and collect the salt which was prepared and sell it at certain prices. There was an outcry in Parliament at one time, and on that occasion objections on the ground of free trade were brought forward, the result of which was that the salt-pans were made over to the tenants themselves, and contractors were introduced. In the course of time the monopoly in Madras fell into the hands of unscrupulous merchants, and at the present time the supply rested almost entirely with the chetties of Madras, who, everybody knew, were perfectly unscrupulous people. Before this change salt sold at eight annas a maund all over Madras; a few years after the price rose to one rupee or two rupees, so that the tax was grievous, and the burden fell heavily on the poor. The State could, by changing the system, reduce the price of salt, and in that way the objects at heart might be promoted. As regards the medical aspects of the question, no doubt, even if it could not be directly proved that the deficiency of salt in the blood promoted disease, it was perfectly certain that salt was necessary for maintaining good health. (Hear, hear.)

HANS RAJ said he was sorry to hear Sir Lepel Griffin and Mr. Rees say that the Indians did not complain. Every year Congress had reported about it, and asked the Government to abolish the tax. If officials who had spent many years of their lives in India thought there were no complaints, what could they expect from the English people who had never been there, and who heard nothing except what friends who had spent their lives there said?

MR. LORAIN PETRE said what was wanted to be heard was not the complaints of the Congress, but the complaints of the people, who could, and did, speak very well for themselves. If one went about the small municipal villages in the Upper Provinces, where there was a direct tax, sometimes even as low as  $\frac{1}{4}$  anna a month, every man in the place would come and complain that he was harshly taxed by that, but not a single complaint of the salt tax would be heard. On the question of the abolition of the opium monopoly, the late Sir Henry Durand wrote a very short note: "I am perfectly willing to abolish the opium monopoly provided somebody will show how we are to find the six millions we shall lose." Most of the speakers had agreed that Mr. Pennington's way of finding six millions would be an extremely unpopular way. He assumed that the present revenue establishment could assess and collect this tax; but anyone who had had anything to do with the income tax would know how intensely unpopular that tax was, and how many complaints there were, and how absolutely hopeless it was to make, through the lower officials, anything like a fair assessment. That difficulty would be infinitely greater when the assessment was on the very poor, who would pay, according to Mr. Pennington's scheme, 6 annas a year.

MR. R. SEWELL thought that little attention need be paid to the question of complaints by the poor of India, as they were not in the habit of openly complaining. The question was really whether the salt monopoly was right or wrong. For his own part, he had heard many complaints, and was convinced that the salt laws, when worked as they were sometimes worked in Southern India, pressed very hardly on the extremely poor. On the other hand, it was open to question whether the remedy proposed by the lecturer—namely, direct and proportional taxation—would not also be very unpopular. He would like to hear the expressed opinions of natives of India now resident in London on the point. Do they consider Mr. Pennington's direct taxation or the present salt laws the least onerous burden? If the chairman was right, the salt monopoly ought to be abolished, and the revenue found in some other way.

The CHAIRMAN said that, as regards no complaint being made about the salt tax among the poorer classes of India, he could only say most strongly that the native medical men had spontaneously come to him, and said: "If you have any sort of influence with the Indian Government, exert it for the repeal of the salt tax." As regards the leprosy question, the arguments which Mr. Rees had brought forward were those which had been urged over and over again; Burmah had been thrown at him repeatedly. Everyone who went to Burmah smelt bad fish, but they did not see the lepers, although they were there. Another source of complaint

by the native medical men was in connection with the abominable earth salt from which the peasants in many parts of India supplied themselves on account of the dearness of salt. It was a very injurious and impure article, and it was very desirable indeed that pure salt should be cheaply provided. The salt tax existed at one time in England, and, he believed, in most countries, and its repeal had been generally coincident with an improvement in the health of the community. It was far more desirable in India, because there salt was of far more consequence than here. The Hindoo wanted a great deal more because of the very rapid decomposition of animal food. He did not feel competent to discuss the financial part of the question, but he agreed that a poll tax would not be a satisfactory substitute; but his contention as a medical man was that there ought, in no country, to be any tax on an article so important to the health of the community as common table salt. (Applause.)

MR. PENNINGTON, in reply, said he thought the difference of opinion was only between direct and indirect taxation. That was a subject he could not enter upon, taking into consideration the lateness of the hour. His proposition was only to compound for the salt tax in some way; he did not profess to say that his was an ideal scheme, but he thought it was considerably better than the monopoly system. He continued: If there had been more time I might have said that one thing only was proved by the discussion, and that is that we should only speak for our own Presidencies; but, at any rate, as Mr. Thorburn and Mr. Sewell said, there is surely a case for inquiry. Even if my suggestion is so utterly impracticable as most of my friends seemed to think—which, so far as Madras is concerned, I do not think it is\*—I hope some of them will suggest a better way of getting rid of a tax which was clearly shown to be about the worst imaginable. "What is morally wrong cannot be politically right." I must be satisfied with having done what I could to call public attention to the evils of the salt monopoly, which are none the less real because those chiefly affected are too ignorant to know how seriously they are injured, and can only regret that the people and even the newspapers of this country take so little intelligent interest in the welfare of a country for which they are all alike responsible.

A vote of thanks proposed by SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN to Dr. Hutchinson for having presided brought the proceedings to a close.

The following letter has been received by the Hon. Secretary addressed to Sir Lepel Griffin:

WEST DOWN HOUSE,  
BRADWORTHY, HOLSWORTHY,  
NORTH DEVON,  
July 6, 1904.

DEAR SIR,

I notice in the *Homeward Mail* of June 27, page 899, an account of a meeting of the East India Association, who had a discussion respect-

\* I was for twelve years a collector and magistrate in three of the southern districts, and should certainly have had no fear of a revolution if the people had been asked to compound for the salt tax on reasonable terms, and if the vernacular press had expressed its approval of the scheme, as I hope it would.

ing the salt monopoly. You are reported as having said that during twenty or thirty years' experience in India you did not remember having heard any complaint about the salt tax.

I should, but for one day in my life, have been able to say the same. For many years while in the Deccan I never heard any such complaint. But once, having to visit a village on the coast on political duty, about the year 1879 as far as I can remember, I asked the boatmen which were better off, they or the kin of that village. These boatmen had taken me from Alibagh, near Bombay, and in British territory. The village where I stood was in the Native State of Janjira. The men replied to my question: "These men are better off because they can salt their fish and take it for sale down the coast. We cannot do this because the salt tax we have to pay is so high as to prohibit our use of it to cure our fish so that we can keep it long enough to take it away to sell at a distance."

Since that time, I believe, even the inhabitants of Native States have been unable to sell their fish in British territory if cured with salt the duty on which has not been paid.

When I used to reside at Alibagh or Ratnagiri, both on the coast, life in the month of October was rendered almost unendurable on account of the quantities of fish put out to dry. The smell was very offensive. Large quantities of fish used to be sent up from the coast to the higher land of the Deccan, but much of it, I understood, had to be destroyed, because, owing to the prohibitive character of the salt tax, it had not been properly cured.

At one place in a coast district I met an officer connected with the salt revenue who told me that the tax pressed very lightly on the people, because on a calculation based on the total population or the total amount of salt revenue the amount of tax for each person was very trifling. This method of argument is ingenious and plausible, but not conclusive. The officer in question did not realize what an enormous quantity of wholesome food is annually lost every year owing to this very heavy tax, which is many times the intrinsic value of the article. In England we often use salt for our animals. We give it to horses and cows, and it is very good for them. The native of India cannot do this.

There cannot be a question that nothing but the barest economical necessity can justify the British Indian Government in maintaining the enormous tax on an article necessary for man and advantageous for animals.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

THEODORE BOSANQUET.

Bombay Civil Service, 1854-1888.

At a meeting held at the Westminster Palace Hotel on Wednesday, July 20, 1904, a paper was read by J. D. Rees, Esq., on "Tea, Trade, and Taxation." Chairman, Sir Edward Sassoon, Bart., M.P. The following, among others, were present: Sir Frederick Fryer, K.C.S.I., Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Rev. Vernon Herford, B.A., Hon. J. Ferguson, C.M.G.,

Mr. Alexander Porteus, C.I.E., Mr. John Pollen, LL.D., C.I.E., Mr. F. Loraine Petre, Mr. T. Durant Beighton, Mr. J. S. McConechy, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. and Mrs. Aublet, Mrs. and Miss Arathoon, Miss Campbell, Mr. B. A. Cooper, Mr. F. H. Brown, Mr. Jaya Rao, Mr. Newton Dutt, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mr. A. Bethune, Mr. Victor Corbet, Mr. A. G. Wise, Mr. A. T. Richie, Mr. M. B. Carie, Mr. H. Earnshaw, Mr. G. F. Hughes, Mr. Delgado, Mr. F. Anns, Miss A. Smith, Mr. Brown Paterson, Mr. Sinha, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

After the paper was read, the CHAIRMAN announced that a letter had been received from Lord Reay stating that he was unable to be present. He had also to express regret that Sir Lepel Griffin was too unwell to attend.

Personally, he was quite delighted to find himself able to avail himself of the privilege of presiding at this meeting, there being a holiday in the House of Commons, where, owing to a continuous sitting of twenty-eight hours, they had achieved, speaking in a strictly constitutional sense, the supernatural feat of obliterating Wednesday. He was sure he would carry the meeting with him when he said that the excellent paper to which they had had the pleasure of listening summed up and presented with vigour, lucidity, and good humour the case for India and Ceylon, the case both for producer and consumer, as regarded this most unjust additional tax upon tea. Every line, every comma, in the clause that imposed that tax, was a rank injustice, and he would rather have been tempted to use a stronger and more sonorous adjective than "unjust" in condemnation of this tax had it not been that he was in full sympathy with the general lines of the policy of His Majesty's Government, and had neither, directly nor indirectly, commercially nor financially, any interest in the article. The lecturer had modestly assumed they would ask what were his qualifications; but surely they all knew his name, and the experience he had gained in India—both in the administrative and legislative sphere—certainly entitled him to speak with knowledge and with authority, and he supposed that one day the electors of the constituency which he was wooing would send him to adorn the House of Commons, to add utility to their debates. From that eminence he would find plenty of scope for the exercise of those talents which, in India, he had shewn himself to possess. In spite of the righteousness of his indignation against this tax, Mr. Rees had been careful to avoid showing, even to the smallest extent, the cloven foot of political recrimination. The necessity of this tax—if it were a necessity—was very much to be deplored. During the second reading debate in the House of Commons he endeavoured to lay great stress upon the fact that, in so far as this additional tax affected the prices of higher-grade tea, and, consequently, touched the richer classes, he had not very much to say. In the case of the high-class tea the producer would probably be able to take care of himself, but so far as the duty, which was not an *ad valorem* duty, but a duty all round, affected the lower-grade leaf, which was sold at between 5d. and 10d. per pound before it was subjected to the cost of distribution and taxation, he thought the tax most objectionable. Either the producer would pay the tax or he would throw it upon the shoulders of the consumer. The bulk of the tea sold in this country was of the lower grade, and consumed by the poorer classes. The price at which it was

sold by the producer had touched bed-rock ; he could not afford to sell it any cheaper, however much the screw of taxation might be applied. The consequence must inevitably be that either the producer would make the distributor pay the tax, in which case the middleman would pass it on to the consumer, or he might, in order to keep the business together, be induced to adulterate it with a lower grade of China tea, which hitherto, owing to the cheap price of India tea, had been excluded from the English market. If, however, the distributor was debarred from resorting to the use of bad China tea, he would find means to make the consumer ultimately pay, and the consumer, being a poor man, would have to buy a smaller quantity than he otherwise would, with the consequence that the tea, being subjected to the process of stewing—to which some good housewives subject it when it is relatively dearer—its deleterious and toxic properties would be brought out and absorbed by the drinker, and that, he thought, would be certainly disastrous to the youth of the country. He certainly thought the gallant efforts made by the planters of Ceylon to retrieve lost ground owing to the failure of the coffee industry ought to have been looked upon with greater encouragement, and greater attention paid to them. The lecturer had also referred to the fact that the planter not only suffered from the effects of more or less grandmotherly legislation in the case of the labourers who worked for him, but from the State-managed rupee. He did not wish to enter into the question of the doctoring of the rupee. He believed, on the whole, it was an inevitable necessity, but in considering the extent to which the burden of additional taxation fell on the planter and on the producer, one had to look to all the factors in the case. All this trouble had been brought about by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer having taken off a certain tax. Without saying what tax it was, it was generally known to be one very easy of collection ; and they all knew, on very high authority, that it had no effect on the price of the kindred articles into the manufacture of which it entered. Owing to the estimate of revenue formed by Mr. Ritchie not having been reached, and to the heavier and costlier armaments needed for the defences of the country, the present Chancellor of the Exchequer had to meet a deficit of something like  $4\frac{1}{2}$  millions ; and finding, as the lecturer remarked, tea a very easy source of taxation, tea consequently fell a prey to the grasping exactions of the Treasury, and there was “ none so poor to do it reverence.” In making his observations in the House of Commons, he suggested mineral waters as a fit subject for taxation. He did not suppose that anybody present had any conception of the enormous consumption of mineral waters in this country. He found from a return of the London County Council that no less than 300,000,000 dozen bottles were consumed every year in the United Kingdom. The small tax of a penny a dozen, which he suggested, would have brought in something like £800,000. It had been suggested since that cocoa and coffee, which paid an infinitesimal rate of duty, might also have been brought into the net, in order that tea might not suffer to such an extent. He thought a great deal of this tea trouble was owing to the hypocrisy of our legislation. On the one hand, we were insisting and demanding that India should adopt

our rigid economical doctrines of Free Trade. We further insisted that, in the periodic adjustment of the fiscal system, she must avoid the smallest shadow of a shade of Protection. On the other hand, here was an article imported from our own possessions in India and Ceylon to the extent of no less than 93 per cent., and we did not hesitate to bleed it, irrespective of the merits or the justice of the case. He was afraid, however, he had no cut and dried policy to offer by way of remedy, but he was glad to be able to announce that before he left the House of Commons the Chancellor of the Exchequer was induced to make a slight concession by accepting Mr. Lough's amendment, as the result of which a collection charge of 5s. per cent. would be remitted. He listened to the debates to see whether the Opposition had any remedy. The gentleman who was considered to know more about tea than anybody else in the House of Commons was Mr. Lough, and he, on the first night of the Budget, in considering the effect on the producer, said what a shame it was that, while we were talking imperially, we were acting unimperially. A few days after he said it was the consumer who, in the end, would be bound to pay the additional tax, because both the distributor and the middleman would find means to throw the tax upon him. Well, he did not know which leg Mr. Lough wished to dance upon, and he rather struck him as belonging to the electric school of thought,

“ . . . which flirts with many,  
Too worldly wise to wed itself to any.”

All they could do was to see that at the first opportunity tea should have the first claim upon the bounty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It was hoped and believed he would see his way to remit the twopence next March, and they were not without the sanguine hope of a further remission subsequently. It was further hoped that the authorities would leave tea severely alone, because an industry conditioned as the tea industry was required for its material growth and its gradual development the elimination of disturbing factors and artificial hindrances to its progress. It was an industry affecting, as they had heard, no less than a million and a half of brave native Indian and Ceylon workers, the comfort of our consumers here and the solvency of the many millions of capital engaged in the enterprise. The considerations must weigh with public opinion to compel the Government, should it show itself recalcitrant, when it had the money to give away, to make full and generous amends for the mischief which it had, he was sure unwittingly and against their will, caused to that industry. He was sure he would carry the meeting with him in offering a vote of thanks to the lecturer for his most able, well-thought-out, and interesting paper.

SIR FREDERIC FRYER, K.C.S.I., lately Lieutenant-Governor of Burmah, said he had come to hear this lecture because tea was a subject upon which he certainly needed instruction. He had served many years in India, but had never seen a cultivated tea-plantation in India, and had never been in any Indian district in which tea was grown, though certainly in Burmah he had seen large tea-gardens scattered over the Shan Hills and the district of the Upper Chindwind. Tea there grew



almost wild, and was very largely used by the Burmese, but, contrary to our own custom, they used it not to drink, but to eat. The tea was converted into what was called letpet, a kind of pickle, by putting the tea in baskets, mixing it with salt, and sinking it in the water until it decayed. As a condiment the preparation was exceedingly popular, and one could not visit in Burmah without it being offered, generally by the daughter of the house. He had eaten a considerable quantity of this condiment in his time, but could not say he had ever found it very palatable. This, however, had not much to do with the taxation of tea. He certainly was very much surprised when the extra twopence per pound was imposed. As far as his personal experience had gone, it was the consumer who paid the tax, and in the case of the working classes the tax must lead to the deterioration of the tea consumed. He considered the tax upon tea was certainly too high, and he trusted they would not only see the extra twopence taken off, but the tax reduced to fourpence, which it formerly was. He knew from the experience of many friends who were tea-planters that the industry in India was certainly not thriving at present. Fortunately, perhaps, for himself, he had no financial interest in tea-gardens, but he believed the dividends paid were very small, averaging, perhaps, 2 per cent., and he was afraid, unless the planters could do better than that, very little money would be invested in the tea industry. Certain pioneers came to Burmah and applied to the Government for grants of land in the Shan States on which to start tea-gardens. He had no doubt that tea would grow very well in Burmah, as, with a view to making an experiment, he obtained a hundred plants, and planted them in his garden at Maymyo, in the Shan States, and they had grown into fine shrubs. Although the Government were willing to make the grants of land required, he had never heard that the plantations had been started, and that those who had intended to invest their capital in the tea industry of Burmah had not done so he could only attribute to the increased taxation. He trusted that the efforts of those who took the same views as Mr. Rees would be crowned with success, and that they would soon see the tax on tea reduced.

THE HON. JOHN FERGUSON, C.M.G., most gladly supported the vote of thanks to Mr. Rees, and as showing how much the interests of India and Ceylon were identified, he might say that with over forty years' residence in Ceylon he had nothing but approval of nearly every statement made by Mr. Rees, and nothing to offer in the shape of correction except in respect of some very minor matters. The planters of Ceylon had ever owed their indebtedness to Southern India for the supply of cheap, docile and altogether admirably suitable labour from the Tamul districts of the Madras Presidency, and no one studying the history of coffee-planting from 1837 to 1877, when Ceylon (shipping 5,000,000 pounds' worth per annum) obtained the third position (Brazil being number one and Java number two), could deny that the industry had been only a blessing both to Ceylon and Southern India. The rise in the prosperity of the colony was mainly due to the Tamul coolie coming over as a free labourer. From 5 millions sterling the annual produc-

tion of coffee had gone down to a few thousand pounds' worth. The injury to the coffee-plant had ruined a large proportion of the planters, who, in search of fresh fields, had spread themselves all over the tropical world—East and West Indies, Africa, Northern Australia, and Borneo. The Ceylon planters, having tried cinchona and brought down the price of quinine from 16s. to 20d. per oz., finally found out about tea, and now Ceylon held the third position as regarded tea-production, China being first and India second. He had just returned from the St. Louis Exhibition, and he thought it a most extraordinary anomaly that, while the British tea duty went on increasing, the country of all others which was the country of "Protection" should have no duty upon tea. The war tax had been taken off in the United States, and tea was free. He made a special visit to South Carolina to inspect the tea-plantations there, and found an experimental garden flourishing not far north of Charleston, while in an interview with the American Secretary of State, Mr. Wilson (like himself, a Scotchman), he learned that tea cultivation was to be officially encouraged in Texas and in other grounds south of Charleston; but there was no duty as contrasted with the heavy burden in England. As Mr. Rees had mentioned, we were far worse off than our German cousins, because there had been an increase in the war tax, and taking the average price of tea at the present day, the British duty was fully 125 per cent. Some few years ago he ventured from Ceylon to address the late Finance Minister in Russia, M. Witte, and pointed out to him, in the hope that he would follow in the footsteps of Mr. Gladstone, the great advantage to British revenue of the course which Mr. Gladstone entered upon when he began reducing the duty on tea. At the time our late great Queen came to the throne tea was 2s. 6d. per pound, but the revenue produced was not so much as was yielded when the tax was at 4d. per pound; and he believed the Chancellor of the Exchequer would be disappointed in regard to the amount of revenue that he would get from this additional twopence, consumption falling off rather than increasing under this very heavy taxation. When he heard in America of the imposition of the duty over here, the word that he and his friends applied to it was that it was "simply atrocious." He made inquiry as to American taxation, and found that intoxicating drinks in the United States were more heavily taxed, taking the licenses and the actual duty, than in this country; and it was extremely hard when revenue was wanted that tea produced by India and Ceylon, which were British Dependencies, should be picked out, while the powerful beer and spirit interests were left alone. He felt, with their chairman (Sir Edward Sassoon), that mineral waters, and cocoa and coffee, mainly from Brazil and Java, should not be left free of duty, or of increase, while this particular British industry (tea) was really being oppressed. The producers and the consumers of tea are largely in the hands of the middlemen and the large distributing houses; and competition between the latter was so keen that each was afraid to raise the prices of their canisters and packets. Besides that, many people who had been accustomed to giving 1s. 1d., 1s. 4d., or 1s. 6d. per canister for tea could not be induced to give more, and

the consequence must be that the quality of the tea would be deteriorated ; and as the result of Mr. Austen Chamberlain's policy, the British taste in tea would be lowered and depraved, and it would take a long time to restore it. Then, again, in this country there was not that careful testing of tea at the Customs which was applied in New York and in Melbourne. There were black sheep in every fold, and he knew as a fact that Ceylon had exported tea to Melbourne which was rejected there as "unfit for human food," and the same tea was re-shipped to London, admitted, and sold in Mincing Lane, and much the same was the case with regard to New York. They were very strict there in applying tests, and he knew of cases where teas which had come back rejected from New York had been admitted into the London market. They wanted very much to have strict tests applied in London, and a certain standard fixed under which no teas should be admitted. He could not help feeling that it was very much in deference to a certain fiscal policy that this twopence had been put on tea, instead of looking elsewhere in order to raise revenue, so that the way should be pointed out in which this duty on tea might be largely reduced by a recasting of taxation. When travelling last year and this all over America, he was much struck by the fact that the taste for tea was spreading rapidly in the towns, and what they wanted there, he thought, was tea-shops after the pattern of the A. B. C. shops in London ; and if a British syndicate could be found enterprising enough to start such a system in the American cities, he thought there would be a great future before it there. Finally, he hoped that Mr. Rees would be successful in his wooing of his Montgomeryshire constituency ; for he was sure that if his constituents approved, the planters of India and Ceylon would be only too glad to take advantage of his services, his special experience and great ability, and to regard him in a peculiar sense as the representative of the tea interests of India and Ceylon in the House of Commons. (Applause.)

MR. DURANT BEIGHTON said he felt rather like the poor man who had to feed on the crumbs that fell from the rich man's table, because much of what he had intended to say had already been dealt with by the preceding speakers. They had all known what to expect from Mr. Rees. Where the subject admitted of it, we got eloquence, or at any rate picturesqueness ; and when there was not much scope for eloquence, Mr. Rees was always sprightly and instructive. He had some claim himself to speak with regard to tea, and if Mr. Rees had not undertaken to deal with the subject, he would have been glad to do so himself. He happened to be a pioneer from the official point of view of the tea industry in the Jalpaiguri district of Lower Bengal. Nearly all the gardens now thriving in the Duárs were surveyed by men appointed by himself. He was thoroughly acquainted from experience with what the relations should be between the planters and the coolies, and fully endorsed every word Mr. Rees had said about this relationship, which, except in isolated cases, was as kindly as could possibly be wished. The lurid scenes we get in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," some slight reminiscences of which appeared to lurk in the mind of his friend Sir Henry Cotton when he was Chief Commissioner of Assam, existed only in the imagination of persons who were constantly endeavour-

ing to find some point on which the interests of the English community and the natives are mutually antagonistic and out of harmony with each other. He, personally, regretted very much the line adopted—he was sure from the most conscientious motives—by Sir Henry Cotton. The published statistics, he thought, quite failed to show that there was any systematic harshness in the treatment of the coolies by the planters, and the formalities and restrictions introduced by the new Act (VI. 1901) had certainly proved a very great obstacle to recruiting. The speech of the chairman of the largest company in Assam, the Jokai Company, pointed out the serious outlook of the labour problem. The agitation of a few years back had borne bitter fruit, and the distrust introduced into the relations between planters and coolies was such that 322 sirdars recently sent out to collect coolies brought back only about the same number. Where the free labour system could be adopted it was no doubt excellent, and was a much better way of recruiting for the gardens than the system under the Act. It might be news to some of them that the difficulties in carrying out the formalities of the new Act were such that the tea-planters of Sylhet and Cochitt were memorializing the Government to relieve them from the operation of the Act, and were going to rely entirely on free labour. Of course that would be impossible in Assam, where without recruiters it would be impossible to get an adequate supply. He looked upon the tea industry as one of the most beneficent agencies in India. He believed he was the first to point out publicly, as he did in 1902 during the debate on Mr. Skrine's paper on "Bengal" at the Society of Arts, that the tea industry was one of the few which dealt, at any rate, with the fringe of the great question of shifting the population of India from districts which were congested and overpopulated to parts where there was virgin jungle, where free labour was wanted, and where these people could cultivate the soil and live in happiness and comparative affluence with their families. As to the result of the overtaxation, it would result in overproduction, coarse plucking, and the importation into England of a large mass of very inferior leaf. The tea which workmen over here would be able to afford to buy would be more injurious and unpalatable even than it is at present. He did not know if they were aware of the extent to which tea was consumed by the working classes. Once when travelling upon political work in Northamptonshire he went into a village where he had occasion to visit most of the houses during the mid-day meal. In every house he visited, the villagers engaged in the lace industry were drinking tea that had been stewing since the early morning, and that would remain in the tea-pot with fresh infusions until the evening, and with this tea they were eating potatoes and bread without meat. Having felt it his duty at one of these houses to taste this tea, he could sympathize with Sir Frederick Fryer in his extraordinary experiment in Burmah, and he sincerely hoped that Mr. Rees, in his political labours in Montgomeryshire, did not find it his duty to subject himself to the same ordeal. He had mentioned this Northamptonshire experience in a speech he made recently to the Chertsey electors, and discovered, to his amazement, that the majority of his audience, the members of the working classes in

this suburban district of London were also in the habit of drinking this horrible concoction, and not the Midland people only. It might be the cup that cheered, but it was certainly the cup that poisoned. He could not insist too strongly on the danger of any legislation that had for its result the deterioration of the daily diet of the working classes. As to what the tea industry intended to do, were they to use the phrase of the day, to "take it lying down," or were they going to take any active steps to make manifest the indignation they must all feel at being made the milch cow of India, and the cat's-paw of every Chancellor of the Exchequer who wanted a couple of millions more money? Lord Curzon, in forwarding to the Home Government representations from the tea-planters, enclosed, he understood from Mr. Rees, an expression of sympathy with their views. He would suggest that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be asked to receive a deputation introduced by Sir Edward Sassoon, who had shown so much sympathy with the tea industry.

The CHAIRMAN observed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been approached.

MR. BEIGHTON said he was aware of that, but it was not quite in the direction he was going to mention; he suggested an organized effort to try and induce the Government to put extra taxation upon China tea. If they were to think imperially, and, as Mr. Rees had said, drink imperially, why should they not also tax imperially?

The CHAIRMAN said China tea amounted to only 7 per cent. of the whole, and what was the good of taxing that?

MR. BEIGHTON pointed out that, the import of China tea was owing to the enhanced duty increasing. China tea had been driven out of the market, but if the bulk of the imports were to consist of very coarse tea, owing to the necessity of tea companies making their profit by quantity instead of quality, China tea would come in ever-increasing quantities. Without wishing to introduce the preferential question, he thought it only fair that some extra impost should be put on China tea in order to protect British-grown tea. There was one thing the Government might do to bring the tea cultivators into more immediate contact with the gardens. Some three and a half crores of rupees were required to complete the railway connection between Assam and Burmah at Mogoung, over the Pabkai range, which would be 284 miles long, and if that were done a splendid market for Assam tea would be found in Burmah, and Burmah, in her turn, could supply wood for the tea-boxes for Assam, which were at present made in Norway, and also rice and wheat to feed the coolies, and there would be a magnificent new trade opened up between these two provinces. Of course, they could not expect the Government to do everything in the way of railway enterprise, but it did appear that the completion of this particular branch would be an enormous advantage to both provinces.

MR. WISE referred to the newly-founded Standing Joint Committee in London of the planters of Ceylon and India, and said that for many years they had been acting, to some extent, at cross-purposes, but a combined effort would make a great difference in the effect of their representations to Government departments. It had been suggested that

further deputations should wait upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but he did not know that such a step would be of any use at the present time. He thought, however, it would be well if representations were made to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by this Joint Committee. He had reason to know that the Colonial Office was not fully aware of the effect which this duty would probably have in the encouragement and increased sale of China tea, to the prejudice of Indian and Ceylon teas, and he thought the Committee should make that as clear as possible. He had been accused of seeking to impose additional taxation upon the planters of Ceylon for the primary vernacular education of the coolie children, but he wished to say, in justice to himself, he had never suggested that the cost of this educational scheme should be imposed solely upon the planters. It should fall, rather, upon the community. He thought the time was particularly inopportune for imposing this tax upon the tea industry, which was now emerging from a struggle against a long-continued combination of adverse circumstances, and he hoped that even at this late hour the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be induced to reconsider his determination.

MR. REES acknowledged the vote of thanks, and a vote of thanks to Sir Edward Sassoon for presiding closed the proceedings.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## INDIAN REVENUE AND LAND SYSTEMS.

SIR,

By some unaccountable accident your January number for 1904 did not reach me till early in June; this, I trust, will be accepted as an apology for my not replying to Mr. A. Rogers' letter in that number and acknowledging the courteous terms in which he has spoken of my article in the April number of your *Review* for 1903.

I must candidly confess I am quite at a loss to apprehend his objections to what I had written about the policy of "fixing the rate of exchange in an artificial and arbitrary manner." I said no more than what Adam Smith had pointed out long ago, that it is no legitimate function of any Government to interfere arbitrarily in the "higgling" of the markets of the world, for the very sufficient reason "that no human wisdom or knowledge *could* ever be sufficient for performing the duty of superintending the industry of *private* people, and of directing it towards the employments most suitable to the interests of Society." So far as I can see, Mr. Rogers has brought forward nothing to invalidate this fundamental principle in the commerce of the world.

If the ryot of India has been greatly benefited by forcing up the rate of exchange, he must have been benefited at the expense of some other country, or whence do the millions come from which the India Office has received and invested in Consols at home at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.? This fund cannot "have grow'd like Topsy," I guess.

That England has to pay heavily for this forcing up of the exchange can, I think, be very easily illustrated. For instance, suppose England owes India Rs. 3,000; to pay this debt under present circumstances she would have to remit £200 in gold; at the market rate for silver England ought to pay only about £166 $\frac{2}{3}$  to liquidate this debt. Here is, therefore, a clear loss of 16 $\frac{2}{3}$  per cent. against England and all other countries employing a gold currency. It is very well to say "that such remittances should be effected *by other means*," but merchants at home are not likely to accept such arbitrary *dicta* from officials, and they take a very short and sharp way in dealing with such matters by simply ceasing to trade with India and going to markets where they are not subjected to or annoyed by "artificial and arbitrary methods of doing business."

If the late Sir James Westland really said that such methods do not matter so long as the end (increasing revenue by hook or by crook) is accomplished, he explained more clearly than he thought for why Indian commercial affairs "stink in the nostrils of the city of London." Every pettyfoggish Government official in India considers himself quite at liberty to interfere *in any way he pleases* with the private affairs of the *common people under pretence of making revenue for the Circar*, and it is no wonder, then, the trade of India is not worth 9s. per head of population—exports

and imports—whilst Japan, by developing “the skill, dexterity, and judgment” of its working classes, has *in less than forty years* placed herself in the van of all the nations of the earth, and India has continued to crawl on in the same snail-like manner she has done for twenty centuries or more under the influence of this arbitrary Cutcherry system of administering the country in total and contemptuous disregard of the blood of its working classes.

In his history of the “Middle Ages,” Hallam says: “There are *but two possible modes* in which the produce of the earth can be increased: *one* by rendering fresh lands serviceable; *the other* by improving the fertility of that which is already cultivated.” The last is *only* attainable by the application of capital and skill to agriculture. The former is, to a certain extent, always practicable while waste lands remain—and I showed that by the Railway policy, persisted in for over fifty years, in India neither one or the other of these two methods had been attended to at all; hence the great industry of this country—agriculture—had been completely neglected, and the people were now in the same wretched condition of poverty and destitution, and, in consequence, they cannot support themselves at all in times of famine and great scarcity. Nothing has been said in Mr. Rogers’ letter to controvert my position, and now that an “expert” has reported on the railways in India and declared their charges for freights, etc., are over 80 per cent. too high for the industrial condition of the country, and we know the bazaar rates for lending money have more than doubled during this period, it is of little use to argue in favour of such works that the people can now be easily fed *at the public expense*. How different is the policy pursued in the United States of America! In one of his addresses President Roosevelt says: “In the arid regions *it is water*, not land, *which measures production*. The western half of the United States would sustain a population greater than that of our whole country to-day, *if the waters that now run to waste were stored and used for irrigation*.”

The forest and water problems are perhaps the most vital internal questions of the United States, and Lord George Hamilton denied India a wholesale water-supply and declared that the Railway policy should be persisted in, and we well know what this has cost this poor country, and the ruin, misery, and desolation spread broadcast over the whole land by pretending to feed the people at the public expense instead of providing them with the only possible means by which their lands could be economically and profitably cultivated.

Again, in his report for 1901, Mr. Secretary Hitchcock says: “There is no question now before the people of the United States of *greater importance* than the conservation of the water-supply and the reclamation of the arid lands of the West and their settlement by men who will actually *build homes* and create communities. The appreciation of this condition is shown by the fact that *both* the great political parties inserted in their platforms articles calling attention *to the necessity of national aid* for the *creation* of homes on the public domain.

Such ideas of the duty required to be done by all public functionaries in



the United States for the benefit of its *whole population* are very different indeed from the ideas put forth in the Report of the Irrigation Commission in India, and by Mr. Hughes in the April number of your *Review*, and his supporters in the discussion on his paper. President Roosevelt and his supporters know perfectly well that it is national prosperity which makes an Empire strong, contented, and flourishing. In India, on the contrary, every public interest is sacrificed to caste prejudices and what is euphuistically called "vested interests," and thus it comes about that because railways were favoured by the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India, the water-supply, on which its greatest industry—agriculture—is entirely dependent, has been neglected, and the land wantonly deprived of the only means by which it can be successfully cultivated. They don't do that kind of thing in the most arid regions of the United States—in Arizona, for instance.

Mr. Rogers has given a very apt illustration of what Cutcherry Brahminism is in South India by quoting a Madras civilian as saying "You know, So-and-So, I always thought those rates (in some particular district of which I have forgotten the name) were too high, *but the Brahmins would not let me lower them*!" There you have the quintessence of the system of collecting land or any other revenue all over India; call it by what name you please, this is the general principle prevailing throughout the length and breadth of this land, and has been so in all ages, as their mamools clearly prove. "The life-blood of the peoples is as nothing in comparison with the revenue of the Prince or Circar," as Adam Smith long, long ago said.

This Cutcherry Brahminism prevails in every district of the Madras Presidency, and it is directed under the authority of the Head Sheristadar of the Board of Revenue, Madras, and woe betide the revenue official, white or black, who presumes to act against his influence. The late Mr. C. Collett, of the Madras Civil Service, one of the most capable men who ever served the State, left the Revenue Department on this very account, for the Judicial Branch, and very soon became one of the Judges of the High Court, Madras, in which he was most highly esteemed and respected.

The most pernicious of all systems for administering the interests of some 30 or 40 millions of peoples in Madras cannot be fully detailed in a short letter, but the condition of the people in general, and the wretched manner in which they are housed and have to live—in a far worse condition than pigs or dogs in England—is ample evidence of the unscrupulous manner in which their interests are sacrificed to a caste system; and, notwithstanding all Mr. Rogers may say to the contrary, much the same kind of thing prevails all over India, and has done so for ages. Such ideas and principles as President Roosevelt and Mr. Secretary Hitchcock openly profess, and which belong to both political parties in the United States of America, are unknown and never have been practised in India, except, perhaps, by Sir A. Cotton.

I fail to see that, in advocating the giving the cultivator security of tenure, such as Joseph's law in Egypt gave to all peoples, I have done

or said anything very extraordinary. As Arthur Young said long ago, it is the magic of property in land (security of tenure) which turns sand into gold; for then every man knows it is for his own interest to get as much profit as possible out of the land, and there is nothing of this kind in any of the many systems of collecting land revenue in India. I have worked this principle in India on a small scale, and never lost a penny of revenue, though the Government was assured by all the Cutcherry officials that all their revenue would be lost, whereas in time—two years—I obtained a larger revenue than this same land had ever yielded before. I simply told the *ryots* that as long as they paid the revenue which they had agreed to do, they possessed the land, and no one would be allowed to interfere with them; *secondly*, if they removed boundary marks, or interfered with other people's rights, they would forfeit their holdings without mercy; and, *thirdly*, I insisted on all complaints being preferred before me, or sent to me direct in a half-anna stamped envelope, and I never had a failure of any sort or kind. There are in the records of all the Governments in India, over 1,001 volumes, reports, etc., about land-revenue matters, and these are constantly being revised and the people worried out of their lives by new rules and regulations; but not an inch of progress has ever yet been made in enhancing the value of the products of the land by any one of these Cutcherry systems, whereas in the Delta districts of Madras the land has a saleable value of over Rs. 1,000 an acre, but in all the other districts, where the interests of the people have never been properly cared for, the land is not worth sixpence an acre. I have not written a line against the Government, which is the old "cuckoo" cry always raised by these Cutcherry people, for they know full well that, as soon as the *ryots* understand their independent position under the British Government, their occupation, like Othello's, "is gone"; and as soon as an officer takes care that the *ryots* are fairly dealt with, immediately a complaint is made against him by the Board of Revenue, Madras, and its all-powerful Head Sheristadar, that this officer is interfering with and upsetting the same vested interests and rights of the Cutcherry folks; and without his knowing anything about the matter it is laid before the Government and his removal demanded for being obnoxious to this caste system, and he would, indeed, be lucky if allowed to make any defence for himself. Since Sir A. Cotton left India, about 1860, nothing has been done in Madras to promote irrigation on any right principles—in fact, everything has been systematically done to prevent his ideas being carried out, and, in consequence, there are no properly-trained engineers to project hydraulic works; and we hear of nothing being done, and years being required to investigate projects which any qualified competent engineer could easily prepare in full in a few weeks or months. As he himself said on one occasion, "What miserable small-minded men you have nowadays in Madras to deal with! It is a marvel you were able to do any work at all, and the Cuddapah Kurnool Canal is a lasting memorial to the deplorable incapacity and incompetency of these engineers of great repute."

GENERAL J. F. FISCHER, R.E.

BANGALORE,  
June, 20, 1904.

P.S.—As Mr. Rogers has produced an instance of the pernicious influence of Brahminism in the collecting of land revenue, and this system prevails all over India under one guise or another; further, as in none of the systems of collecting land revenue in India have they adopted *the only two possible methods* by which the products from the earth can be enhanced, both in quantity and value, and never applied either capital or skill to develop this great industry, but have invariably adopted the most cruelly coercive measures to scrape and claw every dub out of the ryots, and have reduced him and his live-stock to the present condition of hopeless misery, destitution, and ruin, I submit I am perfectly justified in calling such a system “the most crude land-revenue system ever heard of”—for the fruits of it are quite apparent to the most casual observer.

As regards “the stupid superstition” which Mr. Rogers complains of against me, anyone who has lived in India, and has witnessed its practices and ceremonies, and examined the sculptures in their temples, knows perfectly well that nothing in this evil world could, by any possibility, be more debasing and disgusting. It is no wonder, then, that the caste which upholds and thrives by such a system is totally unfit to benefit their fellow-creatures, and have never done so in any ages. A Zulu or Kaffir would be ashamed to bow down to and grovel before such idols as this superstition has set up in India.

Lord Bacon, in the essay on superstition, says: “Atheism leaves a man to sense, to philosophy, to natural piety, to laws, to reputation; all which may be *guides* to an outward moral virtue, though religion were not; *but* superstition dismounts all these, and erecteth an absolute monarchy in the minds of men. Therefore Atheism did never disturb States, but superstition hath been the confusion of many States, and bringeth in a new *primum mobile* that ravisheth all the spheres of Government.” The quotation Mr. Rogers has given as coming from a Madras civilian about the all-prevailing influence of Brahminism, fully confirms the doctrine of Lord Bacon as to the pernicious effects of superstition on Society in general, and I submit I am perfectly justified in saying that this caste system of India is based “on the grossest selfishness and a stupid superstition,” for, as Bacon says, “in all superstition wise men follow fools,” and “arguments are fitted to practise in a reversed order.” Further, amongst the causes of superstition he enumerates “the stratagem of its professors for their own ambition and lucre.” “Superstition without a veil is a deformed thing; for as it addeth deformity to an ape to be so like a man, so the similitude of superstition to religion makes it the more deformed.” It is, then, no wonder the just judgments of God have come upon us in India for even touching such an unclean thing, as it is treating the Deity with the most presumptuous contumely, to whom *alone* vengeance belongeth, and who will not be mocked.

J. F. F.

# THE SALT MONOPOLY.\*

SIR,

Criticism of my suggestion as to *one* way of getting rid of the Salt Monopoly (for which no one had a good word to say, except that it was collected without the direct intervention of the tax-gatherer, and that the people were not aware of the injury they suffered from it—an argument which would justify stabbing in the dark), is founded so entirely on the assumption that my only alternative is a Universal Income Tax that it seems necessary to point out that what I really proposed was to retain the Salt Tax *under that name*, but to impose it in the form of a very rough *License Tax*, supplemented by a Poll Tax (which could be paid in the form of labour). Of course, in substance that may be called an Income Tax, just as the present Salt Tax often is; but I was careful to say that I should call it by the old name, so that the people might know what they were paying for, and that they were getting a *quid pro quo* in the shape of free salt.

My financial proposals, however, are of very little importance, and I have no doubt if the Finance Minister is told that the present system of monopolizing a necessary of life is inadmissible any longer as a source of revenue, he will find some other means of raising the revenue (or great part of it), such as a tax on tobacco, on marriage expenses, or even on houses.

I am also inclined now to doubt the expediency of taxing so many people who scarcely ever have enough to eat. If it was thought desirable to relieve the comparatively wealthy people of England from such an objectionable tax as that on salt is proved to be, *a fortiori* the poor in India should be relieved of it. At the same time, I do not see how the well-to-do classes in India could reasonably object to a roughly-assessed License Tax in lieu of the present monopoly; and, as I said in my paper, I still hope that they would soon come to see the advantage of getting rid of the present most injurious restraints on the consumption of salt even at the cost of direct taxation to an approximately equivalent amount.

J. B. PENNINGTON.

September 1, 1904.

## THE SYRIAN PROTESTANT COLLEGE OF BEIRUT.

We quote the following from *Biblia*, March, 1904: "We have received the thirty-seventh annual report of the Syrian Protestant College of Beirut, Syria. The college campus is a plot of about 40 acres on the north face of the Cape of Ras-Beirut, on a rocky bluff overlooking the Mediterranean. Forty-three names appear upon this year's list of officers and instructors. This college draws its 650 students from all the Christian sects of the East—Maronites, Orthodox and Catholic Greeks, Gregorian and Catholic Armenians, Copts, Abyssinians, Jacobites, Chaldeans, Nestorians, and Protestants—and not a few from the Moslems, Druzes, and Jews. They come from all the countries from the Black Sea to the Sudan, and from Egypt and Greece to Persia. They speak Arabic, Hebrew, Yiddish,

\* See article elsewhere in this *Review*.

Turkish, Armenian, Greek, Persian, Coptic, English, German, and French. The instructors are American, English, Arabic, German, Swiss, and Italian. The Board of Trustees are Messrs. K. Jessup, D. Stuart Dodge, Samuel S. Dennis, Alexander Maitland, and V. Everit Macy, all of New York."

---

#### EDUCATION OF INDIAN IMMIGRANTS IN CEYLON.\*

MR. A. G. WISE forwards us a copy of a letter recently addressed by him to the Colonial Office on the above subject. It contains a summary of the views of leading Ceylon planters as to the advisability of providing schools for the primary education (in the vernacular) of the children of the Tamil labourers employed on plantations. Mr. Wise wrote as follows :

I beg to ask you to be good enough to convey to Mr. C. P. Lucas, C.B., my thanks for the courtesy shown me during my recent interview with him. I should, however, like to make some further observations in regard to the objection hinted at by him, that my proposals, if adopted, would cast an additional financial burden on the planters. As the Hon. J. Ferguson has pointed out, "A well-established school, in which the resident planter takes some interest, soon, it is found, pays its way," adding that he was most anxious himself to see all the coolie children educated.

Mr. Harward, in his circular letter dated December 17, 1903, says: "It is hoped that by combination of estates larger and more efficient schools will in many cases be possible, and that these will earn a sufficient grant at ordinary rates. In estate schools it ought to be much easier to enforce regular attendance than it is in most rural districts. A school of 100 boys in which the teaching is efficient and the attendance regular ought to have no difficulty in earning an annual grant of Rs. 400, and this sum ought to very nearly cover the ordinary cost of maintenance." He further points out that schools could be established at suitable points, to meet the wants of

\* See Mr. Wise's article in our January number (1904), pp. 72-87, entitled "Education in Ceylon; a Plea for Estate Schools."

groups of estates, and this would prove the most economical method ultimately.

2. As you are aware, Mr. Kingsford, Chairman of the Planters' Association, advocated the "extension on a more liberal scale of the present Government grants," and his suggestion would seem well worthy of consideration, if it were found that the establishment of these schools imposed too heavy a burden on the planting community. As he says, "The increased prosperity of the island is chiefly due to the planting industry, and the labourers of that industry may consequently well receive some additional assistance from Government towards their education." I am strongly of opinion that any further expenditure from public funds in this direction would be repaid by the creation of a more intelligent class of coolies. The complete success which has attended the introduction of the Medical Ordinance (in spite of some opposition at the outset) forms a valuable precedent for the passing of legislation in regard to the education of coolie children on plantations on lines previously suggested.

3. I have now also the honour to ask that you will be good enough to lay before the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies the following recent expressions of opinion from superintendents of plantations in Ceylon with regard to the practical working of schools for Tamil children employed thereon. Besides private schools (twenty), there are two Government and twenty mission schools. The new Chairman of the Planters' Association (Mr. Turner) thus enumerates the difficulties of starting schools on estates :

(a) "The necessary buildings" (part of a store might well be used).

(b) "Good schoolmasters" (these could, probably, be readily obtained from India).

(c) "The necessity of schools running at least one year or more before obtaining a grant from Government."

Mr. Turner adds, "All this means an outlay of money, but

when once in full swing it appears that a school practically runs itself."

4. The following expressions of opinion by planters who have themselves started schools contain strong proof of the advisability of extending to all estates throughout Ceylon the benefits of simple vernacular education, which in these instances have been found to be of advantage alike to the planters and to their labour force :

*A. DELTA ESTATE.*—This school has existed for twenty-three years. "Of late," writes the manager, "there has been a great increase in the number of pupils, and it is astonishing to note how very keen they are to learn. I may add that there is no trouble whatever in connection with the working of the establishment. It paid its way last year and showed a balance. I have every reason to anticipate better results this year, which, if realized, will be devoted to the improvement of the schoolroom."

*B. HAUTEVILLE ESTATE.*—The school on this property is of many years standing. The superintendent writes: "Boys who have been trained for a few years in our school generally turn out better estate workers than any others of the same age."

*C.*—On *MAHADOVA ESTATE* the school has been open for fully ten years or more, and is almost self-supporting. Mr. G. E. Osborne writes: "There are always some coolies who are willing to learn, and are glad of a little education. It pleases and contents them to have a school." He adds: "Boys who have passed through the school are, as a rule, smarter and brighter, and they certainly make very useful coolies."

*D.*—"C. M. H." says: "I think education should be made compulsory on estates. I consider that a coolie on our estates has as much right to be considered in this respect as any other subject of the British Empire."

*E.*—On a certain estate there are two schools, one of which was built by the coolies themselves free of charge to the estate. The manager writes: "We have an average attendance in the two schools of about fifty scholars, I have little trouble, but stop rice now and again when a boy plays truant."

*F. MIDLANDS ESTATE.*—The superintendent writes: "Those who have been in the school a few months keep their own accounts of debt owing to their kangany correctly."

*G. GLASGOW ESTATE.*—There has been a school here for many years. The superintendent says: "Where two or more estates representing up to 1,000 coolies can combine, the cost of a school should be trifling; and, looking at the matter from a purely selfish point, there is no question that two or three years school teaching gives us more intelligent and useful coolies, and it is desirable that our future kanganies (or native foremen) should be able to keep their accounts."

*H.*—*BLOOMFIELD MIXED ESTATE SCHOOL* has an average of twenty-nine attendances for the year, each child attending paying 25 cents per month.

*I.*—The *ASGBRIA ESTATE SCHOOL* is nearly self-supporting. The super-

intendent considers schools to be an advantage to an estate, and says the taught children make more satisfactory workers.

*J.*—The manager of MARATENNE has had a school on the various estates of which he has had charge in succession for the past twenty-three years. No charge has been made to the coolies, the school being vernacular and free.

*K. ALLAKOLLA ESTATE.*—The manager is of opinion that “the Tamil is not an enthusiast for education, but he is ready to go in for it if encouraged, and has even some kind of pride in his own school.”

*L.*—SPRING VALLEY ESTATE MIXED SCHOOL was opened in 1886. Since that date there has been an average annual attendance of forty-nine children. The superintendent considers “a school is a distinct advantage to an estate, inasmuch as the coolies and kanganies, although not prepared to take much personal trouble themselves in the matter of educating their children, are very glad that their boys especially have a chance of being educated. This is shown by the fact that some of the kanganies on a neighbouring estate some three miles away have asked me to allow their sons to attend my school. None of them are very keen to have their daughters educated, but I insist on boys and girls, who are old enough to go to school, attending. The taught children make more intelligent, and therefore better, workers than the uneducated children, in my opinion.

*M.*—On COCOCALLA ESTATE schooling is free. The manager writes: “Anything that contents labour is an advantage to an estate, and a certain proportion of the kanganies always seem anxious to have their children educated. I find that, if a school is closed, after a short time the kanganies ask for it to be opened again, and offer to pay for the children’s schooling.”

*N.*—On TOONACOMBE ESTATE education does not prevent the taught children from doing equally as good work as the untaught.

*O.*—MR. J. MALCOMSON (of Matale) thinks that it is too much to expect companies or superintendents to open schools and run them at a loss on purely philanthropic grounds.

5. Turning now to criticisms expressed of the methods adopted in regard to estate schools by the local authorities, I beg most respectfully to state that—

(a) The recent reduction of grant is bitterly complained of, and is considered “a very strange action on the part of the Government. We should agitate for the previous grant,” (Superintendent, Hauteville Estate).

(b) On Toonacoombe Estate the schoolmaster receives only Rs. 15 per month, “which is insufficient for the number of scholars and the work he has to do.” This has been frequently pointed out, but so far without success.

(c) “Estate schools are unnecessarily handicapped in that all scholars presented for examination must be over fourteen years.” The Department of Public Instruction might surely be moved to lower the age, as there seems no good reason for this particular regulation, which is complained of by Mr. J. L. Dewar, of Madulkelle.



(d) Finally, Mr. J. Malcomson endorses the views of Mr. A. C. Kingsford, and says: "*If the Government wish estate schools to be largely increased, they will have to give larger grants, so as to cover the cost.*"

6. I have, of course, no means of ascertaining what would be the extra cost involved in making these schools general throughout the planting districts. Any expenditure would, however, be fully justified, and would be only consistent with the rightful policy of a civilized nation towards an inferior race. In this connection I would repeat the suggestion embodied in my last letter (of May 2, 1904), that the Government of Ceylon be moved to pass a measure calling on planters to provide school buildings and pay the teachers, the Government continuing, or increasing, the present grants.

7. Trusting that the foregoing statements by leading planters, who from their long personal experience are most fully qualified to judge, may receive due consideration at the hands of the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and with renewed apologies for trespassing at such great length upon the courtesy of your department,

I have, etc.,

(Signed) A. G. H. WISE.

In reply, Mr. Wise has been informed that his letter would receive "careful consideration," Mr. Lyttelton being "well aware of the importance of the subject."

Since the foregoing was in type Mr. Wise has received from the Colonial Office a letter, covering a report by Mr. S. M. Burrows, ex-Director of Public Instruction, who was appointed by the local government as a commissioner to inquire into the subject of the education of Tamils on estates in Ceylon. Mr. Burrows fears that the result of giving the children two hours' schooling would be a revival of infanticide, and cause a general exodus of labour from the island. He consequently deprecates any definite action.

Mr. J. Harward, the present Director of Public Instruc-

tion, on the other hand, thinks that there should be no difficulty in preparing a revised syllabus, on a less elaborate scale than the existing programme, in order to suit the special needs of the Tamil coolie's children, such scheme to be afterwards extended to the Singhalese villagers in remote country districts, which are also sadly lacking in educational facilities.

In view of this very remarkable divergence of opinion, Mr. Wise, who has been requested by Mr. Secretary Lyttelton to submit any comments he may care to make on Mr. Burrows' report, will, we understand, advocate the submission of the whole question to a special commission, in accordance with the promise made by Mr. Chamberlain in Parliament. This would certainly seem the best way out of the difficulty, and we trust it may not yet be too late to obtain the views of the Education Cess Committee of the Incidence on Taxation Commission, or some similar body, as Mr. Chamberlain, after consultation with Sir West Ridgeway, undertook to do over a year ago. An expression of opinion by an independent authority is clearly necessary in view of the unfortunate deadlock which appears to have now been reached. The "infanticide argument," as Sir Lepel Griffin termed it, was exposed by him at the meeting of the East India Association held in London last December. Sir Lepel laughingly referred to the theory as adding to education "a new and additional terror."

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

CHISWICK PRESS; LONDON, 1903.

1. *The Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia, known also as The Muallakât*, translated from the original Arabic by Lady ANNE BLUNT, and done into English verse by WILFRID SCAWEN BLUNT. In a lengthy introduction of more than twenty quarto pages we have a highly scholarly account of the origin of the famous Muallaqât, and the mode of life of the authors of them. This portion of the work is written in English of the most chaste and eloquent style, and makes charming reading, a fitting prelude to odes of what is perhaps the most perfect Arabic of which there is any record. Each of the poems is preceded by a biographical sketch of the author of it, and of the circumstances under which the poem was first composed. In sequence to the Seven Poems, there is to each of them a chapter containing "Notes" on it. These notes are packed with information, throwing on obscure parts of the text much-needed light; they tell of the personalities alluded to in the poems, give critical and grammatical explanations, and add much respecting the moral ideas of the Arabs of the pre-Islâmite times, together with their language, love-making, and social customs. Where there is so much to awaken admiration, one is reluctant to find fault. It is pleasing to note the fact that these excellent, accomplished, and far-travelled authors have indicated the quantity of the Arabic vowels when long; but, whether from their own fault or that of their printer, this is a feature of the work that leaves much to be desired. Some of the accent-marking seems uncalled-for, unmeaning, and purposeless. "Héjra," "Békr," "Béni," and "Yémen" are distinctly confusing and misleading. To the reader who has learned the language such marking is superfluous; to other readers it is only misdirecting. Better far that the accent-marking had been let alone than done so. But, blemishes aside, the volume is one of the most perfect and praiseworthy achievements that have ever yet come under our notice.—B.

ARCHIBALD CONSTABLE AND CO., LONDON.

2. *A Russo-Chinese Empire*, by ALEXANDRE ULAR. This book savours of a prolonged rhapsody rather than a history or an appreciation of current events. As it is a translation from the French, and the author spells his name in French style, one might suppose he was a Frenchman, and possibly he is. Unfortunately, the ordinary lucidity of even the least distinguished French writer is not to be found here; the muddy, biased, involved, ponderous, censorious, and pretentious sermonizing is unmistakably German. On the other hand, M. Ular is evidently "in" with Russians, if he be not a Russian himself; but surely no true Russian is capable of writing such "mixed" and canting stuff. It is perfectly clear that the author is totally ignorant alike of the Chinese language and of China life: "Ow-tchow" (p. 83) for Wu-ch'ang; the river "Yang" at

## Reviews and Notices.

Tibet" (p. 82); "Lower Heaven" as a translation of *T'ien* (p. 102); "Prince (*sic*!) Kang-you-wei" (p. 202); and dozens of other such errors prove this most conclusively. He is evidently in love with his own word "Xenophobia," which he rides for all it is worth; and he is persistently on the novel Tibetan string discovered by himself. No man ever conceived a more ridiculous and impossible notion than that the Dalai Lama was, and is, a sort of Chinese king-maker, holding the Manchu Emperors in the hollow of his palm. It is not very clear, indeed, what are to understand by the title "A Russo-Chinese Empire." Perhaps M. Ular is so fascinated by the ephemeral successes of Dordjeff the Buria in Tibet that he has visions of the White Czar twiddling the prayer-drums of Lhasa, "paralyzing" the Manchu rulers by Buddhist anathemas, driving the peccant English and other greedy Westerns from the coasts, and preening himself as universal ruler of Asia at an altitude of 20,000 feet above sea-level. As matters now stand inside Russia, and externally with Japan, it seems a question whether in six months there will be any political Russian Empire left at all, not to speak of a Russo-Chinese dominion. At all events, Russia must shake off the unscrupulous charlatans and speculators who have got her into the present trouble, grant bare human rights to her warm-hearted people, and put a rein upon the reckless conduct and wasteful expenditure of her champagne-bibbing Grand Dukes and high-placed personages, before she aims at conquering new worlds. There is plenty of sterling good in the primitive Russian character, and probably the majority of thinking Englishmen earnestly wish the Russian people well. It is almost certain that the same Englishmen are at heart better friends to her than the truckling "Western neighbour" now hovering about to pick up what is left from the stricken field. But Russia must reform, "foreswear sack and live cleanly"; her plighted word and her financial credit must be honourably re-established, and she must find some honest agents to serve her abroad before she will be fit to undertake such new tasks as those foreshadowed by M. Ular. M. Ular is evidently a clever and highly imaginative man, but he certainly is not a safe one. His strongest point seems to be Tibet, concerning which country he produces a mass of startling political information; but we have no security that the documents he professes to disclose are genuine. Possibly many idle and curious persons may be highly edified in reading the strange and cranky views propounded in this volume. The writer of these lines is far from claiming intellectual superiority over them; he frankly confesses that he is a plain and comparatively ignorant man, who concerns himself mostly with bald facts, and that he cannot understand esoteric politics. At the same time, he discerns a considerable amount of unmistakable twaddle in M. Ular's book; for instance (p. 204), "The Mings had been overthrown because Lhasa had rallied to the cause of the Manchus." This is simply rubbish; even Mr. Alex. Krausse could never have reached such an acme of nonsense. But foolish and startling guess-work of this kind is the rule rather than the exception throughout the book.—E. H. PARKER.

3. *Imperial Rule in India: Being an Examination of the Principles Proper to the Government of Dependencies*, by THEODORE MORISON (1899). This

is a most useful and suggestive little book which I should like to commend to the special attention of my friend Mr. G. Subramania Aiyar. Anyone, indeed, who is inclined to minimize the difficulties of Indian administration, and to complain of the present Government for not being more progressive, would do well to study Mr. Morison's remarks on what he calls "Pseudo-Liberalism" in Chapter II. It is, unfortunately, too obvious that the Indian editor always follows some English model, and that just now the smart, up-to-date, but very dangerous halfpenny paper is the most popular style for imitation.

Mr. Morison's account of the apparently hopeless discord between Hindus and Muhammadans in the North of India is enough to make one despair of the country, and the remedy he is driven to recommend—namely, the complete suppression of all newspapers—seems so completely outside the region of possible politics that one must needs look out for something less heroic. What is wanted, of course, is greater toleration for the opinions of others; and this tolerant spirit, but for the diabolical work of the baser sort of newspaper, might have made some progress even in this country, where everyone claims the right to say what he pleases, no matter how calculated his language may be to provoke a breach of the peace. Education may in time do something to soften men's manners, even in the press, and to prevent them from being so brutal as they too frequently are now; but education is a long process, which does not seem to have done much to improve manners in 2000 years, so that we have to fall back on the Penal Code as a more direct and drastic teacher of ethics. If some of the papers quoted had been promptly prosecuted for doing an act only too likely to provoke a serious breach of the peace, they would probably have been more choice in their language another time.

On page 62 Mr. Morison says that "in India the Government means the Constitution." Does it? Surely the character of the Government of India is entirely dependent upon the Government of England for the general trend of its policy, and is Liberal or Conservative, as the case may be. The Constitution of India can surely be nothing else than *even-handed justice for all*; and if any Governor-General or Governor fails in this first duty the people have every right to agitate for his removal. *He* is not the Constitution; he is only an erring mortal who has failed in carrying out orders, and should be promptly removed, with all his evil advisers. Professor Morison's idea that it is the first business of the Government of India to be popular is somewhat novel; but it has always been a tradition of the service that we should be as conciliatory as possible, and so justify the name "Protector of the Poor" (or even "Father and Mother"), by which the best revenue officials were always known to the common people. As he well points out, collectors nowadays have hardly time for friendly intercourse with the people of their districts, but the practice of having at least one hour set apart for seeing visitors and hearing petitions daily may be made extremely useful in this way, and I think it will be so.











